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ON

# IMMIGRATION

COMPILED BY
EDITH M. PHELPS

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# EXPLANATORY NOTE

The immigration question divides, naturally, into two parts. On the one hand there is immigration from Europe which for several years prior to the war, amounted to about 1,000,000 a year, which, as the war made evident, left in this country large groups of aliens untouched by the "melting process" and so a possible menace to American civilization, and which threatens to increase unduly when conditions of travel are again normal. Here the question is one of restriction of immigration to an amount within America's power to assimilate. On the other hand there is immigration from Asia, where, due no doubt, to the greater difference in racial characteristics, exclusion has been practically an accomplished fact for some years. The question here is not one of admission or exclusion, but of the treatment to be accorded Asiatic immigrants already in America.

This handbook, likewise, has been prepared in two parts: Part I, Restriction of Immigration, and Part II, Asiatic Immigration. Each part follows the general plan of the Handbook Series, with briefs, a selected bibliography, and reprints of the most representative literature covering the history of the question and the arguments for both sides. Appended to each bibliography is a list of associations interested in the question, from whom literature may be secured, and a general introduction provides a brief survey of the entire subject.

E. M. PHELPS.

April 6, 1912.

[Since part of this volume has been issued from the press, information has been received which partly corrects and partly supplements the data given on page 282. The present address of the Japanese Exclusion League of California is 912 Humboldt Bank Building, San Francisco; and two additional associations working for the exclusion of the Japanese from the United States, are the Los Angeles County Anti-Asiatic Association, 349 South Hill St., Los Angeles, Calif., and the Japanese Exclusion League of Washington, Major Burt C. Ross, Pres., Seattle, Wash. These organizations, also the Sacramento Bee, Sacramento, Calif., can furnish literature on this subject on request.—E. M. P.]

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# INTRODUCTION

Immigration is as old as humanity. From the earliest days, when man found his freedom invaded, his customs and ideals threatened by alien civilizations, or his economic opportunities restricted, he girded his loins and set forth on the march to the promised land. History is one long story of the unceasing flow of men and peoples back and forth across the surface of the earth, contesting for favored places, conquering or submitting to alien civilization, and spreading to ever new and outlying territories.

The invasion of America by immigrants began with the first boat-load of Pilgrims who came for freedom of worship. To this fact, perhaps, is due the strength of the tradition of America as a refuge for the oppressed. Other men followed rapidly, some to carve out new homes in the wilderness where they could find spiritual freedom, others to achieve wealth and economic independence, others, still, to obtain and hold new territory for and in the name of the Motherland.

As long as room was unlimited every man was welcomed for the share that he could take in the task of redeeming the wilderness. As civilization pressed westward, and the country developed and became a nation, men were still needed and welcomed as helpers in redeeming the soil, in developing natural resources, and in building cities and means of communication. With the receding of the wilderness to the vanishing point, free land suitable for easy cultivation no longer available, practically all natural resources in the process of exploitation, economic opportunities for individuals restricted, and people herding more and more into cities, came the demand that immigration be halted.

Previous to 1820, immigration to America was so largely a matter of course that no account was taken of it, but in 1819 a law was passed providing for the keeping of immigration statistics and for regulating steerage conditions on ships at sea. During 1820 some 8,000 immigrants arrived in America, and from that time the number increased in a succession of waves,

reaching the high points of 427,833 in 1854, 459,803 in 1873, 788,992 in 1882, 1,285,349 in 1907, and 1,218,480 in 1914, with the alternating low points of 72,183 in 1862, 138,469 in 1878, 229,229 in 1898, and 110,618 in 1918. The peak of immigration was reached during 1907-1914 when for several years so high a level was maintained that it became customary to think of 1,000,000 immigrants a year as the average. With the advent of the war, however, immigration dropped sharply to 326,700 in 1915, declining to the low point in 1918 of 110,618. After the armistice was signed, the wave shot upward again reaching the figure of 430,000 for the year ending June, 1920, with prospects of much greater increase as soon as conditions should become settled.

Immigration was at first confined largely to aliens from Great Britain and Ireland, and from Germany, France, Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. With the exception of the Chinese on the West Coast who came in large numbers from 1848 till 1882, there were very few immigrants at first from other countries. These earlier immigrants were of stock racially allied to those already settled in America. About 1880, however, the character of immigration changed. Immigrants began to arrive from Southern and Eastern Europe, from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Greece, Russia and Portugal, Belgium, Roumania, Turkey, and likewise, since 1893, from Japan to the Western Coast.

It was at this point that immigration began to be a real problem. Although the influx of Germans and Irish at an earlier date had caused a certain amount of racial antagonism, it became more marked with increasing numbers and consequent lessening of economic opportunity, and with the greater differences in racial stock. The newer immigrants were accustomed not only to vastly different standards of living and ideals, but many of them came with a different purpose—not to build homes and become a part of the community, but to secure economic independence or to acquire a competence on which to retire to the home-land to spend their old age. The differences in language and customs helped to create barriers and misunderstandings, and, as the war made so painfully evident, these differences, and the large numbers who came, resulted in forming racial groups who gathered together in the large cities and manufacturing centers, retained their own language press, their own customs, and their loyalty to the mother country, and failed to respond to American ideals and to adopt American standards of living.

Altho the seriousness of the problem did not become apparent generally until recent years, there were not lacking those who were opposed to immigration from the beginning. As early as the fifties there existed the Know-Nothing movement which was largely Anti-Catholic and founded on distrust of the old political parties, but which, in spite of the strength it gained during the fifties, died down again without resulting in Federal action. The history of immigration legislation shows agitation to have been most marked during the periods of greatest influx, notably 1861-70, 1881-90, 1901-10, and again during the past few years when a huge post-war immigration was feared.

Except for the law of 1819 providing for the keeping of statistics and the Alien Law (1798-1801) passed to meet a supposed political danger, regulations for care of in-coming immigrants were passed at first by the States. The first real Federal legislation was the law of 1864, which in fact was intended to promote rather than to discourage immigration. It offered immigrants freedom from compulsory military service and provided a commissioner to assist them to their destinations and to protect them from impositions due to their ignorance. This law was repealed in 1868, but the spirit of the times continued favorable to immigration and efforts were made to encourage it by both Federal and State governments.

As immigration approached the third great wave however, it became evident that encouragement was no longer needed and public opinion began to incline more strongly toward restriction. In 1882 was passed the Act which in principle still prevails, reinforced by such additional legislation as has been passed since that time. Briefly, this Act

1) imposed a head tax of 50c on each incoming alien, the money to be devoted to the regulating of immigration, caring for immigrants, and carrying the Act into effect. This tax was increased to $1 in 1894, to $2 in 1903 and to $4 in 1907. In 1913 the revenue thus secured surpassed the cost of the administration of the immigration laws by $2,000,000.

2) provided that the Secretary of the Treasury be responsible for executing the provisions of the Act. As a result of this provision and the Act of 1903, the Commissioner General of Immigration is responsible to the Secretary of the Treasury altho the Immigration Bureau is subordinate to the Department of Labor.

3) provided for the exclusion and deportation of certain aliens such as those convicted of political offenses, lunatics, idiots or those likely to become public charges.

The Act of 1882 has been modified and amended by certain acts such as

1) The law of 1891 which did away with the joint administration of immigration affairs by Federal and State officials and centered entire charge of the matter in the Federal government.

2) the Statute of 1893 which provided for a preliminary inspection of immigrants at the point of departure, and a fine of $100 for any steamship company bringing to the United States an idiot, imbecile, epileptic, or alien affected with a loathsome or contagious disease.

3) the Law of 1901 which added to the classes of aliens to be excluded from the United States, those suffering from loathsome or contagious diseases, those convicted of felony or other infamous crimes or misdemeanors, or any person assisted to come here by another person unless it is shown that he does not belong to one of the foregoing classes.

4) the Law of 1903 which provides for deportation, at any time within three years after arrival in the United States, of epileptics, persons who have been insane within five years preceding their arrival in the United States, and those who advocate the overthrow of all government or the assassination of public officials.

The law of 1885 prohibited the admission of contract laborers by making it unlawful for any agency, person or corporation to assist in bringing into the United States any immigrant under a contract express or implied. Personal and domestic servants were not included in this law. The immigration laws further include the provision that those brought to the United States in violation of any of the provisions of the law are to be returned at the expense of the steamship company which brought them. This was aimed to prevent importation of aliens wholesale for the sake of the fares to be gained.

To this point, however, the immigration laws did little more than act as sanitary measures to protect the United States from the introduction of aliens positively dangerous and undesirable. Immigrants continued to come and finally the importation of so large a number of unskilled workers was thought to threaten our economic security while at the same time it was felt that

many of them were not capable of assimilation. Agitation began for more effective means of restricting the number of immigrants coming to this country, and this agitation was expressed officially thru the Immigration Restriction League, organized in 1894. The immediate object of the League was to amend the law so that only those fitted to become useful citizens should be admitted. Partly thru the efforts of this League the literacy test was proposed to Congress, and a law providing for it was passed in 1897. The law was vetoed by President Cleveland, but the League continued its efforts, and, after the favorable report of the Immigration Commission in 1911, the bill was re-introduced in Congress. It was passed, and vetoed again by President Taft in 1912, was reintroduced twice after that and vetoed by President Wilson each time, in 1915 and 1917. The bill was finally passed over President Wilson's second veto and became law in 1917.

Even the literacy test failed to satisfy the apostles of exclusion and agitation continued as is shown by the number of bills introduced into succeeding Congresses up to the present time. Among other plans, the Immigration Commission recommended, as a principle of restriction, that the number of immigrants from a specific country be limited to a certain percentage of those from that country already in the United States. This principle was embodied in the Dillingham bill, first introduced into Congress in 1910, limiting those from any one country to 10 per cent of those already here. Practically the same principle is embodied in a different form in the Welty bill, proposed by the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, organized in 1917. There is this important difference that the Welty bill would repeal the present legislation excluding Asiatics, admitting them on the same basis as aliens from other countries. The Dillingham bill retains the exclusion laws against Asiatics.

The fate of the Dillingham bill during the last year has been tied up with the Johnson bill. Altho immigration practically ceased during the war, there were evidences that it might increase suddenly to undue proportions as soon as war regulations were lifted, and this fear coupled with the knowledge of the existence of large numbers of aliens in this country who had remained unassimilated, and the dangers of a hetrogeneous and partly alien population in time of war, led to the demand that all legislation

be suspended until an immigration law adequate to cope with needs and conditions could be devised. This proposal was embodied in the Johnson bill prohibiting all immigration into the United States for four years, then two, and finally, in the bill actually passed by the House in December, 1920, for fourteen months. When this bill reached the Senate, it was replaced by the Dillingham bill amended to restrict the number admitted to 5%, then to 3%, of those already here. The amended Dillingham bill passed the Senate, was accepted by the House, and sent to President Wilson for his signature in the last days of his administration, but was lost thru his failure to sign it. According to current press reports this bill is to be introduced into the new Congress at once and is reported to be slated for passage early in May.

In this brief account, little has been said, so far, of the Chinese and Japanese on the West Coast of the United States, for the reason that the circumstances are so different as to require a separate story. The Chinese were the first to come, arriving in California with the discoveries of gold in 1848. At first they were welcomed for their help in developing the mines but in a few years they were coming so rapidly that California citizens became alarmed and began to demand their exclusion. The number of Chinese coming from 1848 to 1852 was about 10,000, and from 1868 to 1876 the increase netted about 11,000 per year. As a result of anti-Chinese agitation, legislation hostile to the Chinese began as early as 1855, and the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 with China opposed, altho it did not forbid, the importation of coolie labor. Other provisions of this treaty, however, declared the right of migration to be inherent, a clause which proved an embarrassment when restrictive legislation was attempted later. A bill to restrict Chinese immigration, passed by Congress in 1879, was vetoed by President Hayes on this ground. Finally, however, was passed the Act of 1882 which suspended immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years. It was amended in 1888 to make Chinese exclusion practically complete. This bill was continued for ten years more by the Geary Act of 1892, and the Act of 1902 continued it until further enactment should be made. As a result of this legislation Chinese immigration practically ceased in 1882, and later census returns show the number of Chinese in the United States to be decreasing.

According to the figures of the Commissioner General of Immigration the Japanese began to come to America about 1893. Until 1898 the number arriving did not reach 2000 in any one year, but after 1900 Japanese came more rapidly and it was not long before the same antagonism developed toward them that had been shown toward the Chinese at an earlier date. Between 1902 and 1907, 37,000 Japanese came, attracted by higher wages and better opportunities to establish themselves as farmers or business men. Discontent with this situation became general and in 1908, when an effort was made to exclude the Japanese children from the public schools in San Francisco, Japan, who had looked with disfavor on emigration from her territory, undertook voluntarily to restrict Japanese laborers from coming to the United States. This was the famous so-called "Gentlemen's agreement", which was confirmed by special declaration when the General Treaty of 1911 was concluded.

This agreement had the effect of reducing the number of male Japanese laborers to this country but, under its provisions, Japanese of the professional class and students were still admitted, and Japanese already here and intending to remain could send for their wives. The Japanese here were largely of the agricultural class and soon proved such able competitors of the white men, by their thrift and industry and their desire to become farm-owners rather than laborers, as to become, in the opinion of the many, a menace to American civilization. There was the opinion also that the Gentlemen's agreement was being evaded, that Japanese were being smuggled in over the border, and that many of the so-called "picture brides" were being brought in in defiance of the intention of the Agreement. The women who came were mostly at the age of greatest fecundity, the birthrate was high, and the Japanese in California seemed in a fair way to increase unduly in point of numbers. This fact and the fact that the Japanese purchased or leased land where they could, resulted in the California Alien land law of 1913.

Altho Asiatics had settled in other states of the West the problem seemed nowhere so acute as in California. Representation had been made by California to the Federal Government repeatedly, of the need of restrictive legislation, but without success, so at last California undertook legislation on her own behalf. Japanese immigration had never been subject to statu-

tory limitation by the Federal Government but under the Naturalization Act the Japanese were included among the races who were ineligible to citizenship. This Alien land law prohibited the ownership of land by aliens "ineligible to citizenship." While it was pending in the California legislature Japan called the attention of the Federal State Department to it, contending that it discriminated against the Japanese in violation of the General Treaty of 1911. President Wilson sent word to California protesting against the bill and, later, Secretary of State Bryan went to California to confer with Governor Johnson and the California lawmakers. California would not withdraw the bill but as a result of the Conference, a new bill was drawn up by Attorney-General Webb and passed. This bill eliminated the objectionable phrase "ineligible to citizenship" but preserved its effect. Japanese holdings then in effect were not disturbed but owners of land could not sell to other Japanese, and the leasing of land to those "ineligible to citizenship" was prohibited for terms of more than three years. The Department of State held that the Webb Act did not violate the treaty but the matter has remained a delicate subject between Japan and the United States from that day to this.

After the passage of this bill agitation seemed to subside and during the War most friendly relations existed between the two peoples. Its revival in 1919 has been ascribed to definite propaganda for political reasons, the prime mover being Senator Phelan who made it his election issue. He was aided very largely by the state press and consequently, the opposers of the movement had little chance to be heard. The purpose of the propaganda was to restrict still farther the opportunities of the Japanese to hold land in California. As a result an amendment to the land law was passed in November 2, 1920, by a majority, however, of only three to one in place of nine to one as predicted. This law reaffirmed the prohibition of ownership of land by aliens, forbad all leasing of land or purchase by means of corporations, and forbad to Japanese parents the guardianship of their children in any case where land ownership was involved. It struck definitely at the alleged practices of land-holding and purchase by transferring of three-year leases from one member of a family to another, through the organizing of corporations to buy land, or the taking of land in the names of minor children born on American soil.

What the outcome of the law will be it is too early to state. That it raises a serious question—one that is bound to be a large factor in the future settlement of our immigration question—cannot be doubted by anyone reading the literature that has been put forth. Opposed to Senator Phelan and his newspaper confederates were a number of organizations, such as the American Committee of Justice, which was organized for the express purpose of fighting this legislation, and the Japanese Association of America which is making brave efforts toward the Americanization and assimilation of the Japanese in this country. The matter is not confined to California for similar bills have been passed in Arizona and Washington, and proposed in Idaho, Oregon, Colorado and Nebraska. Some of these have been dropped on the protest that such state legislation serves to embarrass the State Department in its treaty relations and that the resulting discrimination is insulting to Japan.

After this brief survey of immigration history, one is forced to the conclusion that the immigration policy of the United States to the present time has not been a thing of definite plan and purpose but, like Topsy, has "jes' growed". Frances Kellor, in her new book, "Immigration and the Future" points out the fact that other nations are making definite plans for emigration from their territories, that their nationals will be encouraged and assisted to go where there are the best opportunities for them as individuals, and where they can also be retained as loyal subjects of the mother land. If this be true, it is time that America shape an immigration policy that will establish friendly and just relations with all other nations and at the same time preserve her own integrity.

Edith M. Phelps.

# PART I

# RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

# BRIEF

RESOLVED, That Congress should prohibit immigration into the United States for two years.

## INTRODUCTION

I. It is generally admitted that there is need of greater care in admitting and assimilating the foreign-born who come to our shores.

II. As part of a program for better assimilation, it is urged that further immigration to the United States be prohibited for two years.

III. The issues for debate are
- A. Is this legislation necessary?
- B. Is it practicable?
- C. Is it advisable for other reasons?
- D. Does it have the support of public opinion?

## AFFIRMATIVE

I. It is necessary that immigration into the United States be prohibited for two years.
- A. There are already in this country large numbers of aliens who have not been assimilated.
  - 1. They have come much faster than they could be cared for.
    - a. Although strenuous efforts have been made toward the Americanization and distribution of aliens, it has not been possible to cope with the incoming floods successfully.
  - 2. A large proportion of them have come from countries with speech, laws and customs entirely dissimilar to our own.
    - a. This has resulted in lowering physical standards and ideals, and in forcing down standards of living.

3. Many of them are still unfamiliar with our language and laws.
   a. They are the easy tools of the boss and the political machines.
   b. They are dependent on the foreign language press for their knowledge of American ideas and ideals.

B. As soon as ocean transportation is fully re-established, there will be more immigrants than ever before.
   1. There has been a vast increase in the number immigrating this past year alone.
      a. We may expect increasing numbers as transportation facilities improve.
   2. Many will come from war-ruined countries to better their social and economic condition.
   3. The decrease in immigration during the war and at present is purely temporary.
   4. Many aliens now returning to Europe will come back bringing their families and friends with them.

C. This legislation is needed for economic reasons.
   1. The low-skilled occupations into which most immigrants enter are considerably overstocked.
      a. This results in
         (1) Lowering of wages.
         (2) More unfavorable conditions of work.
         (3) Delay in adoption of labor-saving devices.
   2. With the return of our men from Europe, the closing of many war industries, and the present readjustment of industrial conditions, there is increasing unemployment.
   3. Standards of living and wages cannot be maintained in competition with immigrant-recruited reserves of unemployment.
   4. Aliens tend to herd in cities thereby increasing congestion in the already-crowded centers of population.
      a. It is difficult to get them to go to the land.

D. This legislation is necessary to preserve our ideals and institutions.

1. Democracy can only exist with the maintenance of a certain standard of living.
2. Our government is threatened by those who do not understand our ideals and institutions and seek to overturn them.

II. Prohibition of immigration for two years is practicable.
- A. It will give us time to prepare an adequate restrictive test for immigration.
- B. It will keep out laborers who offer the greatest competition in our industrial field and thereby threaten our civilization most seriously.

III. Prohibition of immigration for two years is desirable for other reasons.
- A. It may serve to convince our middle-class people of the dignity and worth of hand labor.
- B. It will preserve the integrity of our free institutions.
- C. It will tend to increase the birth rate among the native-born.
  1. Statistics would tend to show that immigration in the past has acted as a check upon the birth-rate among the native-born.
- D. It is our duty to humanity to protect our standards of living.
  1. To serve as a model and a goal for striving democracies in other lands.
  2. So we ourselves may be in a position to help those democracies to gain their ideals.
  3. Free immigration of labor, as it is usually of a lower class, tends to break down standards.

IV. This legislation is favored by
- A. Many of our prominent economists, and sociologists.
- B. The American Federation of Labor and the four railroad brotherhoods.

## Negative

I. Prohibition of immigration for two years is not necessary.
- A. There is no danger of an over-supply of immigrants.
  1. Immigration has not materialized greatly since the signing of the armistice.

a. Present conditions of travel prevent many who would otherwise come.
b. Changing conditions abroad will keep many at home.

2. Emigration is at present in large numbers notwithstanding the fact that labor is scarce and well paid.
a. Many of the emigrants are well-to-do who are going back to the homeland to retire on what they have earned.
b. Many of them are skilled industrial workers.

3. Labor tends normally to flow where it can get cheap land.
a. Practically all of the free land in this country has been absorbed.

B. There is already a shortage of labor.
1. Household servants are difficult to obtain.
2. There is a dearth of laborers for railroads, roads and public works where large numbers of unskilled workers are needed.
3. More unskilled labor is needed in order to keep work going for skilled laborers.

C. The present machinery for regulating immigration is adequate.

II. Prohibition of immigration for two years is impracticable.
A. It will not keep out the educated or professionally-trained workers where most of the agitators and radicals are found.
B. It will keep out the workers we need most—unskilled laborers.

III. Prohibition of immigration is undesirable for other reasons.
A. Prohibition for two years will not keep out the undesirable element permanently.
B. The migratory instinct is inevitable.
1. It is better to seek to regulate it wisely than try to crush it.
2. The results of migration are in the long run beneficial to humanity.
a. Racial strife and prejudice are but superficial disturbances.

C. The loss in population will not be offset as some think, by an increasing birth-rate.
   1. The birth-rate is controlled by the price of food.
   2. Prices will not lower as long as there is a labor shortage.

D. Prohibition of immigration is unpatriotic and un-American.
   1. To be an American means to be actuated by the highest motives of humanity.
   2. America has always been a refuge for the oppressed.

E. Prohibition of immigration conflicts with the new idea of internationalism.
   1. Restriction is based on one or the other of the following assumptions:
      a. That a nation has the right to decide who shall or shall not enter its territory and to keep its economic and social life to itself.
      b. That some races are inferior to others and that differences of race are a barrier to economic assimilation and social equality.
   2. Either of these assumptions is inconsistent with internationalism or the league of nations.

F. Immigrants are a valuable addition to our social and economic life.
   1. They add to the economic wealth of the nation.
   2. They infuse new blood and bring new ideas and ideals into the body politic.

IV. Many social and economic workers, also manufacturers and employers of large numbers of laborers, are opposed to this bill.
   A. This legislation would create more problems than it would correct.

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Immigration Restriction League, 11 Pemberton Square, Boston 9, Mass.

Literature will be sent on receipt of ten cents for postage.

Inter-Racial Council, Woolworth Building, New York, N. Y.

Opposed to complete restriction of immigration. Publishes literature some of which will be sent on request.

National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, 105 E. 22d Street, New York, N. Y.

In favor of "percentage plan." Literature is mailed on request.

National Liberal Immigration League, 309 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

30 pamphlets sent on request.

# GENERAL DISCUSSION

## IMMIGRATION: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS [1]

*Sources of Immigration and Character of Immigrants*

From 1820 to June 30, 1910, 27,918,992 immigrants were admitted to the United States. Of this number 92.3 per cent came from European countries, which countries are the source of about 93.7 per cent of the present immigration movement. From 1820 to 1883 more than 95 per cent of the total immigrants from Europe originated in the United Kingdom, Germany, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Switzerland. In what follows the movement from these countries will be referred to as the "old immigration." Following 1883 there was a rapid change in the ethnical character of European immigration, and in recent years more than 70 per cent of the movement has originated in southern and eastern Europe. The change geographically, however, has been somewhat greater than the change in the racial character of the immigration, this being due very largely to the number of Germans who have come from Austria-Hungary and Russia. The movement from southern and eastern Europe will be referred to as the "new immigration." In a single generation Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia have succeeded the United Kingdom and Germany as the chief sources of immigration. In fact, each of the three countries first named furnished more immigrants to the United States in 1907 than came in the same year from the United Kingdom, Germany, Scandinavia, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Switzerland combined.

The old immigration movement was essentially one of permanent settlers. The new immigration is very largely one of individuals a considerable proportion of whom apparently have no intention of permanently changing their residence, their only purpose in coming to America being to temporarily take advantage of the greater wages paid for industrial labor in this country.

[1] United States. Immigration Commission. Abstracts of Reports. 1911.

This, of course, is not true of all the new immigrants, but the practice is sufficiently common to warrant referring to it as a characteristic of them as a class. From all data that are available it appears that nearly 40 per cent of the new immigration movement returns to Europe and that about two-thirds of those who go remain there. This does not mean that all of these immigrants have acquired a competence and returned to live on it. Among the immigrants who return permanently are those who have failed, as well as those who have succeeded. Thousands of those returning have, under unusual conditions of climate, work, and food, contracted tuberculosis and other diseases; others are injured in our industries; still others are the widows and children of aliens dying here. These, with the aged and temperamentally unfit, make up a large part of the aliens who return to their former homes to remain.

The old immigration came to the United States during a period of general development and was an important factor in that development, while the new immigration has come during a period of great industrial expansion and has furnished a practically unlimited supply of labor to that expansion.

As a class the new immigrants are largely unskilled laborers coming from countries where their highest wage is small compared with the lowest wage in the United States. Nearly 75 per cent of them are males. About 83 per cent are between the ages of 14 and 45 years, and consequently are producers rather than dependents. They bring little money into the country and send or take a considerable part of their earnings out. More than 35 per cent are illiterate, as compared with less than 3 per cent of the old immigration class. Immigration prior to 1882 was practically unregulated, and consequently many were not self-supporting, so that the care of alien paupers in several states was a serious problem. The new immigration has for the most part been carefully regulated so far as health and likelihood of pauperism are concerned, and, although drawn from classes low in the economic scale, the new immigrants as a rule are the strongest, the most enterprising, and the best of their class.

### *Causes of the Movement*

While social conditions affect the situation in some countries, the present immigration from Europe to the United States is in the largest measure due to economic causes. It should be stated,

however, that emigration from Europe is not now an absolute economic necessity, and as a rule those who emigrate to the United States are impelled by a desire for betterment rather than by the necessity of escaping intolerable conditions. This fact should largely modify the natural incentive to treat the immigration movement from the standpoint of sentiment and permit its consideration primarily as an economic problem. In other words, the economic and social welfare of the United States should now ordinarily be the determining factor in the immigration policy of the Government.

Comparatively few immigrants come without some reasonably definite assurance that employment awaits them, and it is probable that as a rule they know the nature of that employment and the rate of wages. A large number of immigrants are induced to come by quasi labor agents in this country, who combine the business of supplying laborers to large employers and contractors with the so-called immigrant banking business and the selling of steamship tickets.

Another important agency in promoting emigration from Europe to the United States is the many thousands of steamship-ticket agents and subagents operating in the emigrant-furnishing districts of southern and eastern Europe. Under the terms of the United States immigration law, as well as the laws of most European countries, the promotion of emigration is forbidden, but nevertheless the steamship-agent propaganda flourishes everywhere. It does not appear that the steamship lines as a rule openly direct the operations of these agents, but the existence of the propaganda is a matter of common knowledge in the emigrant-furnishing countries and, it is fair to assume, is acquiesced in, if not stimulated, by the steamship lines as well. With the steamship lines the transportation of steerage passengers is purely a commercial matter; moreover, the steerage business which originates in southern and eastern Europe is peculiarly attractive to the companies, as many of the immigrants travel back and forth, thus insuring east-bound as well as west-bound traffic.

### *Immigrants in Manufacturing and Mining*

A large proportion of the southern and eastern European immigrants of the past twenty-five years have entered the manu-

facturing and mining industries of the eastern and middle western states, mostly in the capacity of unskilled laborers. There is no basic industry in which they are not largely represented, and in many cases they compose more than 50 per cent of the total number of persons employed in such industries. Coincident with the advent of these millions of unskilled laborers, there has been an unprecedented expansion of the industries in which they have been employed. Whether this great immigration movement was caused by the industrial development or whether the fact that a practically unlimited and available supply of cheap labor existed in Europe was taken advantage of for the purpose of expanding the industries, can not well be demonstrated. Whatever may be the truth in this regard, it is certain that southern and eastern European immigrants have almost completely monopolized unskilled labor activities in many of the more important industries. This phase of the industrial situation was made the most important and exhaustive feature of the Commission's investigation, and the results show that while the competition of these imimgrants has had little, if any, effect on the highly skilled trades, nevertheless, through lack of industrial progress and by reason of large and constant reinforcement from abroad, it has kept conditions in the semiskilled and unskilled occupations from advancing.

Like most of the immigration from southern and eastern Europe, those who entered the leading industries were largely single men or married men unaccompanied by their families. There is, of course, in practically all industrial communities a large number of families of the various races, but the majority of the employees are men without families here and whose standard of living is so far below that of the native American or older immigrant workman that it is impossible for the latter to successfully compete with them. They usually live in cooperative groups and crowd together. Consequently, they are able to save a great part of their earnings, much of which is sent or carried abroad. Moreover, there is a strong tendency on the part of these unaccompanied men to return to their native countries after a few years of labor here. These groups have little contact with American life, learn little of American institutions, and aside from the wages earned profit little by their stay in this

country. During their early years in the United States they usually rely for assistance and advice on some member of their race, frequently a saloon keeper or grocer, and almost always a steamship ticket agent and "immigration banker," who, because of superior intelligence and better knowledge of American ways, commands their confidence. Usually after a longer residence they become more self-reliant, but their progress toward assimilation is generally slow. Immigrant families in the industrial centers are more permanent and usually exhibit a stronger tendency toward advancement, although, in most cases, it is a long time before they even approach the ordinary standard of the American or the older immigrant families in the same grade of occupation. This description, of course, is not universally true, but it fairly represents a great part of the recent immigrant population in the United States. Their numbers are so great and the influx is so continuous that even with the remarkable expansion of industry during the past few years there has been created an over supply of unskilled labor, and in some of the industries this is reflected in a curtailed number of working days and a consequent yearly income among the unskilled workers which is very much less than is indicated by the daily wage rates paid; and while it may not have lowered in a marked degree the American standard of living, it has introduced a lower standard which has become prevalent in the unskilled industry at large.

### *Recent Immigrants in Agriculture*

According to the census of 1900, 21.7 per cent of all foreign-born male breadwinners in the United States were engaged in agricultural pursuits, but the great majority of these were of the old immigration races. Up to that time comparatively few of the immigrants from the south and east of Europe had gone on the land, and, while during the past ten years some of the races have shown a tendency in that direction, the proportion is still small. Among the races of recent immigration which have shown a more or less pronounced tendency toward agriculture in states east of the Rocky mountains are the Italians and Poles, while several Hebrew agricultural colonies have been established. A considerable number of the Italians are to be found in various parts of the East, the South, and the Southwest, where, as a rule, they have established communities, and on the

whole have made good progress. In the East many have engaged in truck gardening in the vicinity of the largest cities, while in the South and Southwest they have entered fruit and berry raising and, to a lesser degree, general farming. The Poles have gone into general agriculture in many parts of the East and Middle West, while the Hebrews are, as a rule, located in more populous states and usually near large cities. The small number of Hebrews who have engaged in agricultural pursuits have not been conspicuously successful, although in some localities they have made fair progress. The Polish farmers, as a rule, have succeeded, particularly in some of the eastern localities where they have purchased worn-out lands and succeeded in making them productive and profitable. The Italians usually have been successful in general farming and especially so in truck gardening and small farming in the vicinity of large cities.

While encouragement is to be found in the experiences of the past few years, it is clear that the tendency of new immigration is toward industrial and city pursuits rather than toward agriculture.

### *Artificial Distribution of Immigrants*

In making the larger cities and industrial communities their place of residence, aliens composing the new immigration movement have continued to follow a tendency which originated with the advent of such immigrants in considerable numbers. This may be ascribed to various reasons. A large part of the immigrants were agricultural laborers at home, and their immigration is due to a desire to escape the low economic conditions which attend agricultural pursuits in countries from which they come. With no knowledge of other conditions it is natural, therefore, that they should seek another line of activity in this country. The destination of these immigrants in the United States on arrival is controlled by the fact that they almost invariably join relatives or friends, and few of these, even among earlier immigrants of the class, are engaged in agricultural pursuits.

No satisfactory or permanent distribution of immigrants can be effected through any federal employment system, no matter how widespread, because the individual will seek such social and economic conditions as best suit him, no matter where sent. What is needed is a division of information which will cooperate

with states desiring immigrant settlers. Information concerning the opportunities for settlement should then be brought to the attention of immigrants in industrial centers who have been here for some time and who might thus be induced to invest their savings in this country and become permanent agricultural settlers. Such a division might also secure and furnish to all laborers alike information showing opportunities for permanent employment in various sections of the country, together with the economic conditions in such places.

## SOME RESULTS OF THE FIRST CENSUS OF EUROPEAN RACES IN THE UNITED STATES[1][2]

One of the most interesting facts disclosed in this report is the great numerical preponderance which is still held by the mother tongues of northwestern Europe, as a whole, notwithstanding the high rank numerically which has been gained by a few individual mother tongues from eastern and southern Europe—especially the Italian, Polish and Yiddish. These three now stand third, fourth and fifth in rank. The English and Celtic mother tongues are by all odds the ones most largely represented in the foreign white stock of the United States. The number, 10,037,420, is considerably greater than that of the German mother tongue, which latter contributes more than one-fourth (27.3 per cent) of the total foreign white stock of the United States, as reported in 1910. Italian, Polish and Yiddish come next in rank, but none of them number as much as one-fourth of the German. To these three mother tongues, intermediate in rank but considerable in numbers, may be added the Swedish, French and Norwegians, all belonging to northwestern Europe, except a portion of the French. No other mother tongue than the eight thus far enumerated furnishes as much as 2 per cent of

[1] By Daniel Folkmar. Science, n. s. 39:147-8. January 23, 1914.

[2] A new feature of the Thirteenth Census was the inclusion in its population schedule of an inquiry about mother tongue in addition to that about country of birth. As a result of this inquiry new light is thrown on the make up of our alien population. All persons born in Russia are not Russians. All persons coming from Germany are not Germans. It is of value therefore to know how many of them are Hebrew, how many Polish, Finnish, etc. Mother tongue is taken to mean the language of customary speech in the homes of immigrants before immigration. M. K. Reely.

the total of the foreign white stock of the United States, or numbers as much as 1,000,000. The eight major mother-tongue stocks already named account for 87.5 per cent of the total foreign white stock.

How small a factor the "new immigration" from southern and eastern Europe really is up to the present time, may be better shown by comparing it with the total white population of the United States. Taking as 100 per cent the total white population of the United States in 1910, numbering 81,731,957, the so-called "native stock" constitutes 60.5 per cent and the three great linguistic families of foreign stock from northwestern Europe constitute 27.1 per cent, making a total of 87.6 per cent. The elements from southern and eastern Europe constitute, therefore, less than 13 per cent of the total. Of this the two principal Latin mother tongues—the French and the Italian—contribute less than 5 per cent, and the two principal Slavic mother tongues—the Polish and the Bohemian—and the Hebrew, taken together, contribute also less than 5 per cent, leaving to all the remaining mother tongues another 5 per cent or less of the total. Of the total foreign white stock of the United States, 32,243,382, there are 8,817,271 persons who are of German stock when counted according to mother tongue, but a trifle under 8,500,000 (8,495,142) of German stock when counted by their country of origin, Germany.

Immigrants from Austria are far more Slavic than Germanic. Russian immigration is shown to be far more Hebrew (52.3 per cent) than Russian (2.5 per cent) or even Slavic. Immigration from Turkey in Europe is not so much Turkish as Greek and Bulgarian. Both the first and the second generations of immigration from Russia show that over 50 per cent report Yiddish and Hebrew as their mother tongue. The returns for "Yiddish and Hebrew" reflect ethnic composition less satisfactorily than the returns for other mother tongues. A part—how large a part there is no means of judging—of those whose ancestral language is Hebrew doubtless have reported German, English, Polish or other mother tongues. Of the total number of Yiddish-speaking people 838,103 came from Russia, 144,484 from Austria-Hungary, 41,342 from Roumania, 14,409 from the United Kingdom, and 7,910 from Germany.

The full list of mother tongues as reported at the Thirteenth Census is given for the total foreign white stock (which includes

the foreign born and the natives of foreign or mixed parentage) and for the foreign-born whites separately, as follows:

| Mother Tongue | Total Foreign White Stock, 1910 | Foreign Born White |
|---|---|---|
| All mother tongues | 32,243,382 | 13,345,545 |
| English and Celtic [1] | 10,037,420 | 3,363,792 |
| Germanic: | | |
| German | 8,817,271 | 2,759,032 |
| Dutch and Frisian | 324,930 | 126,045 |
| Flemish | 44,806 | 25,780 |
| Scandinavian: | | |
| Swedish | 1,445,869 | 683,218 |
| Norwegian | 1,009,854 | 402,587 |
| Danish | 446,473 | 186,345 |
| Latin and Greek: | | |
| Italian | 2,151,422 | 1,365,110 |
| French | 1,357,169 | 528,842 |
| Spanish | 448,198 | 258,131 |
| Portuguese | 141,268 | 72,649 |
| Roumanian | 51,124 | 42,277 |
| Greek | 130,379 | 118,379 |
| Slavic and Lettic: | | |
| Polish | 1,707,640 | 943,781 |
| Bohemian and Moravian | 539,392 | 228,738 |
| Slovak | 284,444 | 166,474 |
| Russian | 95,137 | 57,926 |
| Ruthenian | 35,359 | 25,131 |
| Slovenian | 183,431 | 123,631 |
| Serbo Croatian: | | |
| Croatian | 93,036 | 74,036 |
| Dalmation | 5,505 | 4,344 |
| Servian | 26,752 | 23,403 |
| Montenegrin | 3,961 | 3,886 |
| Bulgarian | 19,380 | 18,341 |
| Slavic, n. s. | 35,195 | 21,012 |
| Lithuanian and Lettish | 211,235 | 140,963 |
| Miscellaneous: | | |
| Yiddish and Hebrew | 1,676,762 | 1,051,767 |
| Magyar | 320,893 | 229,094 |
| Finnish | 200,688 | 120,068 |
| Armenian | 30,021 | 23,938 |
| Syrian and Arabic | 46,727 | 32,868 |
| Turkish | 5,441 | 4,709 |
| Albanian | 2,366 | 2,312 |
| All other | 790 | 646 |
| Unknown | 313,044 | 116,272 |

[1] Includes persons reporting Irish, Scotch or Welsh.

## OUR FUTURE IMMIGRATION POLICY[1]

The outstanding feature of our immigration policy has been its negative character. The immigrant is expected to look out for himself. Up to the present time legislation has been guided by conditions which prevailed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We have permitted the immigrant to come; only recently has he been examined for physical, mental, and moral defects at the port of debarkation, and then he has been permitted to land and go where he willed. This was the practice in colonial days. It has been continued without essential change down to the present time. It was a policy which worked reasonably well in earlier times, when the immigrant passed from the ship to land to be had from the Indians, or in later generations from the government.

And from generation to generation the immigrant moved westward, just beyond the line of settlement, where he found a homestead awaiting his labor. These were the years of Anglo-Saxon, of German, of Scandinavian, of north European settlement, when the immigration to this country was almost exclusively from the same stock. And so long as land was to be had for the asking there was no immigration problem. The individual states were eager for settlers to develop their resources. There were few large cities. Industry was just beginning. There was relatively little poverty, while the tenements and slums of our cities and mining districts had not yet appeared. This was the period of the "old immigration," as it is called; the immigration from the north of Europe, from the same stock that had made the original settlements in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the South; it was the same stock that settled Ohio and the Middle West, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas.

The "old immigration" from northern Europe ceased to be predominant in the closing years of the last century. Then the tide shifted to southern Europe, to Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Poland, and the Balkans. A new strain was being added to our Anglo-Saxon, Germanic stock. The "new immigration" did not speak our language. It was unfamiliar with self-government. It was largely illiterate. And with this shift from the

[1] By Frederic C. Howe, Former Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York. In Scribner's. 61:542-6. May, 1917.

"old immigration" to the "new," immigration increased in volume. In 1892 the total immigration was 579,663; in 1894 it fell to 285,631. As late as 1900 it was but 448,572. Then it began to rise. In 1903 it was 857,046; in 1905 it reached the million mark; and from that time down to the outbreak of the war the total immigration averaged close on to a million a year, the total arrivals in 1914 being 1,218,480. Almost all of the increase came from southern Europe, over 70 per cent of the total being from the Latin and Slavic countries. In 1914 Austria contributed 134,831 people; Hungary 143,321; Italy 283,734; Russia 255,660; while the United Kingdom contributed 73,417; Germany 35,734; Norway 8,329; and Sweden 14,800.

For twenty years the predominant immigration has been from south and central Europe. And it is this "new immigration," so called, that has created the "immigration problem." It is largely responsible for the agitation for restrictive legislation on the part of persons fearful of the admixture of races, of the difficulties of assimilation, of the high illiteracy of the southern group; and most of all for the opposition on the part of organized labor to the competition of the unskilled army of men who settle in the cities, who go to the mines, and who struggle for the existing jobs in competition with those already here. For the newcomer has to find work quickly. He has exhausted what little resources he had in transportation. In the great majority of cases his transportation has been advanced by friends and relatives already here, who have lured him to this country by descriptions of better economic conditions, greater opportunities for himself, and especially the new life which opens up to his children. And this overseas competition *is* a serious problem to American labor, especially in the iron and steel industries, in the mining districts, in railroad and other construction work, into which employments the foreigners largely go.

How seriously the workers and our cities are burdened with this "new immigration" from south and central Europe is indicated by the fact that 56 per cent of the foreign-born population in this country is in the States to the east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio Rivers, to which at least 80 per cent of the present incoming immigrants are destined. In the larger cities between 70 and 80 per cent of the population is either foreign born or immediately descended from persons of foreign birth. In New York City 78.6 per cent of the people are of foreign birth or immediate foreign extraction. In Boston the per-

centage is 74.2, in Cleveland 75.8, and in Chicago 77.5. In the mining districts the percentage is even higher. In other words, almost all of the immigration of the last twenty years has gone to the cities, to industry, to mining. Here the immigrant competes with organized labor. He burdens our inadequate housing accommodations. He congests the tenements. He is at least a problem for democracy.

But the effect of immigration on our life is not as simple as the advocates of restriction insist. It is probable that the struggle of the working classes to improve their conditions is rendered more difficult by the incoming tide of unskilled labor. It is probable too that wages are kept down in certain occupations and that employers are desirous of keeping open the gate as a means of securing cheap labor and labor that is difficult to organize. It is also probably true that the immigrant is a temporary burden to democracy and especially to our cities. But the subject is not nearly as simple as this. The immigrant is a consumer as well as a producer. He creates a market for the products of labor even while he competes with labor. And he creates new trades and new industries, like the clothing trades of New York, Chicago, and Cleveland, which employ hundreds of thousands of workers. And a large part of the immigrants assimilate rapidly.

In addition, the new stock from southern and central Europe brings to this country qualities of mind and of temperament that may in time greatly enrich the more severe and practical-minded races of northern Europe.

## Immigration Figures: Comparison of the Fiscal Years Ending June 30, 1914, 1915, 1917-1920

*(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)*

Total immigration, 1820-1920 ..... 33,630,104

| | 1914 | 1915 | 1917 | 1918 | 1919 | 1920 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***Arrivals:*** | | | | | | |
| Total | 1,403,081 | 434,244 | 362,887 | 211,853 | 237,021 | 621,576 |
| Immigrant aliens [*See Note* 1][1] | 1,218,480 | 326,700 | 295,403 | 110,618 | 141,132 | 430,001 |
| Non-immigrant aliens [*See Note* 1][1] | 184,601 | 107,544 | 67,474 | 101,235 | 95,889 | 191,575 |
| Debarred from entrance and returned within three years after landing | 37,651 | 26,675 | 17,635 | 8,866 | 11,964 | 14,546 |
| Per cent of total arrivals debarred | 2.6 | 6.1 | 4.9 | 3.5 | 3.6 | 1.9 |
| *Departures:* | | | | | | |
| Total | 633,805 | 384,174 | 146,379 | 193,268 | 216,231 | 428,062 |
| Emigrant aliens [*See Note* 1][1] | 303,338 | 204,074 | 66,277 | 94,585 | 123,522 | 288,315 |
| Non-emigrant aliens [*See Note* 1][1] | 330,467 | 180,100 | 80,102 | 98,683 | 92,709 | 139,747 |
| Net addition to population [*See Note* 2][2] | 769,276 | 50,070 | 216,498 | 18,585 | 20,790 | 193,514 |
| *Immigrant aliens:* | | | | | | |
| Excess over emigrant aliens | 915,142 | 122,626 | 229,126 | 16,033 | 17,610 | 141,686 |
| Teutonic and Keltic races, chiefly from Northern and Western Europe | 321,390 | 157,951 | 132,157 | 45,907 | 73,511 | 183,233 |
| Per cent | 26.4 | 48.4 | 44.7 | 41.5 | 52.1 | 42.6 |
| Slavic and Iberic races, chiefly from Southern and Eastern Europe | 834,124 | 130,043 | 113,737 | 24,521 | 14,788 | [3]164,354 |
| Per cent | 68.4 | 39.7 | 38.5 | 22.2 | 10.5 | 38.2 |
| Asiatic | 28,776 | 13,073 | 12,156 | 12,756 | 12,512 | 14,846 |
| Per cent | 2.4 | 4.0 | 4.3 | 11.5 | 8.9 | 3.4 |
| Average money brought in dollars | 34.92 | 59.89 | 71.53 | 81.03 | 112.17 | 76.63 |
| Per cent of farm laborers, laborers, or servants | 54.1 | 34.5 | 35.6 | 24.4 | 20.5 | 31.2 |
| Per cent destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N. Y. and Pa. | 59.8 | 50.9 | 47.2 | 39.1 | 48.1 | 44.8 |
| Per cent destined for the States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers | 81.8 | 70.6 | 72.4 | 56.1 | 51.7 | |
| Per cent destined for other (Southern and Western) States | 17.5 | 28.8 | 26.0 | 40.6 | 46.1 | |
| Per cent destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, and Philippine Islands | 0.6 | 0.6 | 1.6 | 3.3 | 2.2 | |

## LARGEST ELEMENTS IN RECENT IMMIGRATION

| | 1911. | 1912. | 1913. | 1914. | 1915. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| South Italian ... | 159,638 | 135,830 | 231,613 | 251,612 | 46,557 |
| Hebrew ..... | 91,223 | 80,595 | 101,330 | 138,051 | 26,497 |
| Polish ..... | 71,446 | 85,163 | 174,365 | 122,657 | |
| German ..... | 66,471 | 65,343 | 80,865 | 79,871 | |
| English ..... | | | | | 38,662 |
| Scandinavian ... | | | | | 24,263 |

1916

| | |
|---|---|
| English | 50,950 |
| South Italian | 36,470 |
| Mexican | 25,161 |
| Scandinavian | 24,131 |
| Hebrew | 23,333 |

1917

| | |
|---|---|
| South Italian | 35,154 |
| English | 32,246 |
| Greek | 25,919 |
| French | 24,405 |
| Scandinavian | 19,596 |

1918

| | |
|---|---|
| Mexican | 17,602 |
| English | 12,980 |
| Japanese | 10,168 |
| Scandinavian | 8,741 |
| Spanish | 7,909 |

[1] NOTE 1.—DEFINITIONS. *Immigrant aliens,* those arriving whose permanent domicile has been outside the United States and who intend to reside permanently in the United States.

*Emigrant aliens,* those departing whose permanent residence has been in the United States who intend to reside permanently abroad.

*Non-immigrant aliens,* those residing abroad making a temporary trip to the United States.

*Non-emigrant aliens,* those residing in the United States making a temporary trip abroad.

The figures based on these definitions are not reliable as they depend solely upon the alien's statement of his intention.

[2] NOTE 2.—This figure is ascertained by substracting from the total of "immigrant aliens" and "non-immigrant aliens" the "emigrant aliens" and the "non-emigrant aliens."

[3] NOTE 3.—1920 figures include Semitic races also.

1919

| | |
|---|---|
| Mexican | 28,884 |
| English | 26,889 |
| French | 12,598 |
| Scotch | 10,364 |
| Japanese | 10,056 |

1920

| | |
|---|---|
| South Italian | 84,882 |
| English | 58,366 |
| Mexican | 51,042 |
| French | 27,390 |
| Spanish | 23,594 |

## PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF DEBARMENT

| | 1918 | | 1919 | | 1920 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Likely to become a public charge | | 2,836 | | 3,994 | | 5,297 |
| Unable to read | | 1,598 | | 1,455 | | 1,639 |
| Physically diseased | 496 | | 388 | | 522 | |
| Mentally diseased | 143 | | 141 | | 208 | |
| Physically or mentally defective | 315 | 954 | 343 | 872 | 353 | 872 |
| Criminals | 160 | | 261 | | 355 | |
| Immoral | 249 | 409 | 135 | 369 | 205 | 560 |
| Contract laborers | | 474 | | 774 | | 1,164 |
| Total debarred | | 7,297 | | 8,626 | | 11,795 |

## REVIEW OF WORLD IMMIGRATION [1]

Although nearly 20 months have passed since the signing of the armistice, the close of the fiscal year 1920 finds the immigration lanes from a great part of Europe closed almost as effectively as they were during the war. It is true that the resumption of peace-time traffic on the ocean and the return of fairly normal conditions in Great Britain, France, and other western European nations have brought about a considerable immigration and emigration movement between those countries and the United States. It is true also that the movement to and from

[1] Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, for year ended June 30, 1920.

Italy and Greece has reached considerable proportions, but Austria, Hungary, Russia, the Balkans, Germany, and the war-born States of Finland, Czechoslovakia, and Poland—territory which sent nearly 600,000 immigrants to the United States in 1914 alone —sent less than 6,300 in 1920. Therefore, what will undoubtedly be our greatest postwar immigration problem is still a matter of the future, but even a casual observation of the trend of events in central and eastern Europe is enough to warrant the conviction that at any time and without warning this problem may become an immediate and very pressing one.

The central and eastern Europe situation and its probable relation to future immigration was discussed at some length in a review of world immigration which appeared in the bureau's annual report for 1919. It was pointed out in this connection that while immigration from western Europe long ago passed the crest and probably would never again attain its old-time volume, the movement from the southern and eastern countries was still considerably below the anticipated flood stage when the World War began. The bureau at that time predicted that immigration from western Europe would soon resume its normal prewar status, and that very probably there would be a somewhat increased movement in the case of some countries, and the experience in 1920 has only strengthened that belief. It predicted, also, that immigration from eastern Europe would almost certainly resume prewar importance whenever this became physically possible. It went further than this, and pointed out the possibility and even the probability that when this region finally emerged from the maelstrom into which the World War had plunged it the overseas exodus would not only reach its prewar status but would increase beyond anything that was ever dreamed of in the past.

As already suggested, the experience of the fiscal year just ended has seemingly justified the bureau's prophecy concerning immigration from western Europe, for, as pointed out in the discussion of immigration statistics elsewhere in this report, the movements from and to most of the countries have already resumed something like their prewar proportions, and in the case of some countries the westbound tide is even higher than in the years immediately preceding the war.

The year brought little change in immigration from central and eastern Europe, however, and at its close those regions are

still so involved in the aftermath of the World War that immigration from them is negligible. Developments of the year, however, have been such as to strengthen the bureau's belief that when real peace finally comes to that part of the world and free communication with other countries is again resumed, the volume of immigration will be limited only by the lack of ocean transportation or the effectiveness of possible barriers which the various countries themselves may erect against the emigration of their people, or which the United States and other nations may erect to wholly or in part prevent their admission.

The situation in specific sections or countries of Europe, as it appears to the bureau at the close of the fiscal year, may be briefly summarized as follows:

From all accounts Great Britain—that is to say England, Scotland, and Wales—has made rapid advances toward the restoration of normal conditions along all lines since the war ended, and this apparently is reflected in our immigration from those sources during the last fiscal year, when it resumed practically its prewar status. This is clearly shown by the following comparisons between the number admitted from those countries in 1920 and 1914:

| | 1920 | 1914 |
|---|---|---|
| England | 27,871 | 35,864 |
| Scotland | 9,347 | 10,682 |
| Wales | 1,253 | 2,183 |

So far as the statistics reveal, the character of this immigration was not materially different from that of earlier years, and it is predicted that it will so continue, except that a considerable increase may be expected provided stable economic conditions are maintained in this country. However, the demands and attractions of Canada and other British overseas dominions, which are extensively presented to the people of Great Britain, will undoubtedly prove as effective as they did in years prior to the war, thereby preventing any very large movement to the United States, though many may leave the home countries.

Fewer immigrants came to the United States from Ireland in 1920 than in any year between 1833 and 1916, and it is presumed that disturbed political conditions in that country were in large part responsible. The number admitted in 1920 was only 9,591, compared with an annual average of 32,000 in the 15 years

1900-1914, and while a substantial increase may be expected, it is doubtful whether Ireland will ever regain its former place as one of the most extensive immigrant-furnishing countries.

Following the close of the Franco-Prussian war there was something of an increase in immigration from France to the United States, but there was no suggestion of an exodus of population, because at its highest point, in 1873, only 14,798 came. In the five years 1910-1914 immigration from France averaged 8,601 annually and in 1920 it was 8,945, which probably indicates nothing more than a quick return to a normal status. This may be expected to continue without important fluctuations.

As for other countries of northwestern Europe, the developments of the year were substantially the same as in the cases of Great Britain and France, for while immigration from Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and Switzerland did not reach prewar proportions in any case, except that of Switzerland, nevertheless the trend was clearly in that direction, and the bureau expects a fulfillment of the prediction made in 1919, that with the restoration of traveling and other facilities the movement from these sources will soon resume and perhaps for a time somewhat exceed its average for the years immediately preceding the war.

Perhaps the most important development in the immigration record of 1920 was the largely increased number coming from Spain, a country which until recent years had contributed only a few thousands to the many millions who have come from Europe during the past century. From 1820 to 1902 the average number coming from Spain was only about 500 a year, and it exceeded 1,000 only six times during that period. In 1903, however, 2,080 came, and the average number from that year until and including 1919 was 4,480 annually, the largest number, 10,232, coming in 1917. In 1920 the number coming from Spain reached 18,821. Thus, although one of the westerly countries of Europe, Spain was the last to become an important source of immigration to this country. It has a population of above 20,000,000, and with a newly started and rapidly growing immigration at a time when so many other sources are closed, it is reasonable to expect that within a few years the Spanish people will be a very important factor in the movement from Europe.

Immigration from Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands, in 1920 also reached the highest point in its history—

15,472, compared with an annual average of 7,128 in the 21 years, 1899-1919.

The resumption of immigration from Italy soon followed the close of the war, and a total of 95,145 came from that country in 1920, compared with an annual average of 194,500 during 16 years prior to the beginning of the World War. This may safely be taken to indicate that the prewar status will soon be reached, and it would not be surprising if it surpassed for a time at least the average of prewar years, especially if immigration from eastern Europe is not resumed in its former proportions.

What is said of Italy can also be said of Greece, for while the 11,981 immigrants who came from that country in 1920 represent less than one-half of the average number coming during the few years next preceding the war, the quick resumption of immigration on such a considerable scale indicates a tendency which will very probably result in much larger numbers coming when normal conditions of travel are fully restored.

So far as the remainder of Europe is concerned—which is to say, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Russia, the Balkans, and the newly created States of Czechoslovakia, Finland, and Poland, which appear in this report for the first time as separate political entities—there is little that can be said on the basis of the year's immigration for the reason that almost none was admitted from these sources. Of course the failure of the United States to ratify the treaty of Versailles leaves this country in a technical state of war with the so-called Central Powers, so that there is little freedom of intercourse with them. Russia proper is still largely shut off from other parts of the world and communication with the Balkans is very much restricted. There has been a considerable return movement to some of these countries, particularly to Hungary, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, but all of central and eastern European area under consideration furnished fewer than 6,300 immigrants in 1920, compared with nearly 600,000 in 1914. But, as already stated, there is every reason to believe that when the barriers are removed, there will be an outbursting of people from these countries which will produce an immigration limited only by the facilities for ocean travel.

With the exception of the so-called Great Russians, who may be briefly described as that part of the Russian population now

included in Soviet Russia, all of the principal peoples of eastern Europe have furnished large contributions to our immigration and in most cases the numbers coming were increasing when the war began, with the prospect that under ordinary circumstances such increase would have continued for years to come.

Many of these peoples, as a result of war, have come under changed political sovereignty and as a rule have ceased to be subject peoples. Naturally this would have at least a temporary effect of restraining emigration, but it can not be supposed that it will do so permanently, especially under present economic conditions, which according to all available estimates are destined to be the lot of practically the entire region under consideration for a long period, even after fighting ceases and stable and permanent governments are established. This being the case, it can not but be expected that as in the past the surplus population will seek relief in emigration.

An important question—perhaps the most important one which arises out of the turmoil of eastern Europe—is to what extent will the people of Great Russia become a part of future immigration. For many years after other peoples of what was then Russia, notably the Poles, Hebrews, Lithuanians, and Finns, had become large factors in our immigration it was commonly predicted that the Russians themselves would never follow their example to any great extent. The contrary proved to be true, however, for in the few years next preceding the beginning of the war they began to come to the United States in rapidly increasing numbers.

The following figures showing the number of immigrants of each of the peoples named who came from Russia in 1910-1914 will illustrate this point:

| | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hebrew ..... | 58,824 | 65,472 | 58,389 | 74,033 | 102,638 |
| Polish ..... | 63,635 | 40,193 | 51,244 | 112,345 | 66,278 |
| Lithuanian ..... | 21,676 | 16,210 | 13,576 | 23,873 | 20,808 |
| Finnish ..... | 14,999 | 8,942 | 5,708 | 11,156 | 10,968 |
| Russian ..... | 14,768 | 17,581 | 21,101 | 48,472 | 40,241 |

With the exception of the Russians the peoples enumerated came from western and southwestern Russia, the most of which territority is either definitely separated from the former empire,

as in the case of Finland and Poland, or which, for the present at least, is outside the jurisdiction of the so-called Soviet government. Accordingly, the only immigrants who in the past have come in any numbers from what is now Soviet Russia are the real Russian people, mentioned in the table, and some immigrants of German blood who came from the old-time German settlements on the Volga River.

Leaving out of consideration the various peoples of Asiatic origin who inhabit the eastern part of the country, the population of the present Soviet Russia is very largely made up of the real Russian people already referred to, and the extent of their future immigration to the United States can only be conjectured. But it is safe to say that much will depend upon economic, and perhaps political, conditions in Russia when normal intercourse with other countries is resumed. The rapid increase which, as the above table shows, occurred just preceding the World War was thoughtfully considered by the bureau, and the conclusion was reached that, unless artificially restricted, these Russians would soon become one of the largest, if not the largest, racial groups among our immigrants.

At that time it was believed that unfavorable economic conditions, resulting largely from overpopulation of land available for the peasants in large sections of central Russia, were chiefly responsible for the beginning and rapid growth of the movement to this country. In earlier years this population pressure had been somewhat relieved by an enormous immigration of peasants to Siberia, but for various reasons this decreased, and the increased movement to the United States, and also to Canada, almost immediately followed.

The World War, of course, abruptly stopped this movement, as it did all immigration from eastern Europe, and the isolation of Russia since the war ended has been equally effective in that respect. Whether the political upheaval in that country will result in removing what seemed to be the chief cause of peasant migration to Siberia and emigration overseas remains to be seen.

### *The Asiatic Situation*

There was no material change in immigration from the Far East in the fiscal year 1920 compared with 1919, but that coming from Asiatic Turkey increased from only 19 in 1919 to 5,033 in 1920, this being due to the fact that the Syrians and Armenians

are again beginning to find their way to the United States. These and other subject peoples of Turkey have come to the United States in considerable numbers in the past, and while their emancipation from Turkish rule may have some effect in checking immigration it seems very likely that the movement will continue much as it was before the war with a probability of considerable increase.

China contributed 2,330 immigrant aliens during the year 1920 and 3,102 returned to that country, while 9,432 came from Japan and 4,249 returned there. The annual immigration from China has not changed materially during more than a quarter of a century and it long ago responded to the policy of exclusion. The number admitted from Japan was slightly less than in 1919, and also slightly under the annual average for the 21 years, 1899-1919, that average being 10,984. During that period, however, the number varied greatly, the extremes being 30,226 in 1907 and 2,720 in 1910.

### *British North America*

With the single exception of Italy, Canada, or rather British North America as a whole, led all other countries as a source of immigration in 1920, the number admitted being the largest recorded immigration from that source since 1882, with the exception of the two years, 1916 and 1917.

### *Mexico*

After Italy and Canada, Mexico furnished more immigrants in 1920 than any other country, 52,361 having been admitted from that source compared with 29,818 in 1919, and an annual average of 10,320 in the 21 years 1899-1919. The large increase in 1920 is said to be due to various causes, the chief of which was the demand for labor at high wages in the southwest, where these immigrants form a highly important part of the labor supply.

### *Central and South America*

Immigration conditions from the various countries in this part of the world show little change, but with the development of commerce now progressing to the mutual interests of all nations contributing to the same, it is expected that movement of people to and from the United States and all countries to the south will materially increase.

## A CENTURY OF IMMIGRATION [1]

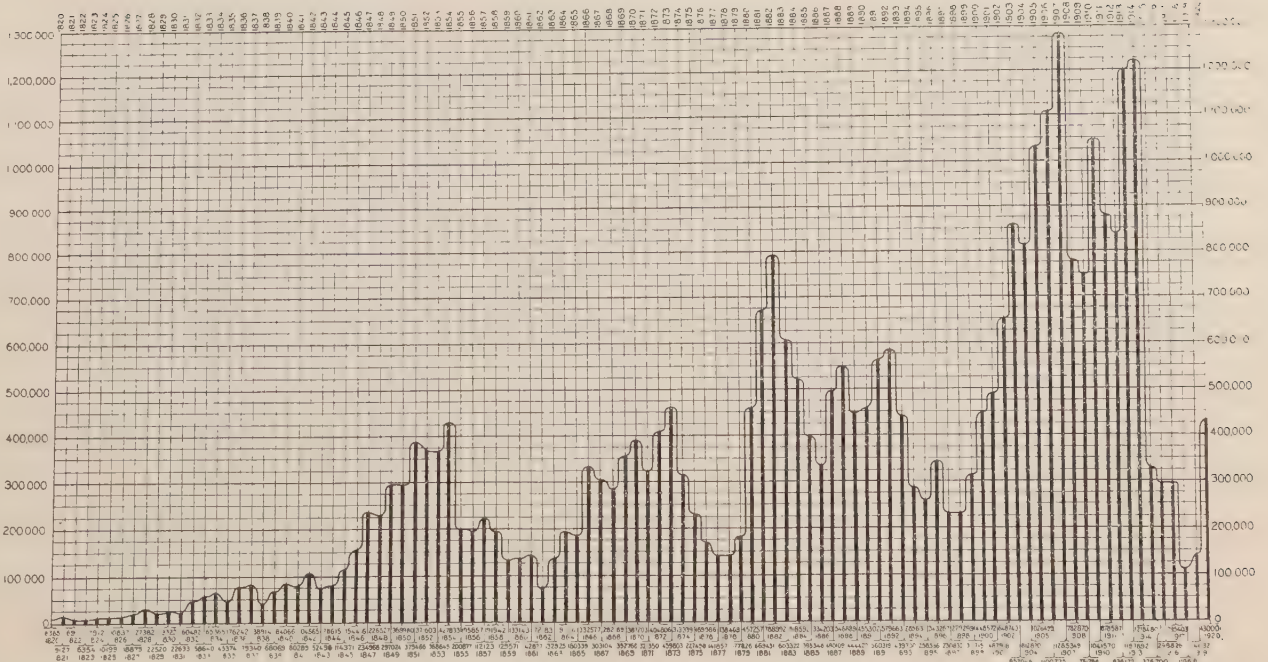
From the close of the revolutionary war until the war of 1812 there was a considerable but unrecorded amount of immigration into the United States. It decreased during the war of 1812 and after the close of the war in 1815, increased to 200,000 in 1817, a large proportion of the arrivals being sturdy, industrious workers. Nearly all of these became permanent residents and helped to settle and develop the country, as many have since done, but in a proportion decreasing as the area of unsettled territory and of free lands for homesteading has decreased. Meantime larger and larger numbers have been employed in mills, shops and on the vast amount of construction work that required men by the hundreds and thousands and an increasing number have concentrated in the seaboard and other large cities. Many have been frankly migratory, remaining in this country only long enough to accumulate the desired amount of earnings which they have carried back to their native countries to invest.

In March, 1819, federal legislation was enacted that regulated ship transportation of immigrants and provided for recording the number, age, sex and occupations of arriving emigrants. These records, since then much amplified, show that from 1819 until 1919 there have landed in this country 33,076,813 aliens—a number nearly equal to one-third of the present population of the United States, which has increased about 97,000,000 since 1819.

The great majority of the immigrants have been day workers, common labor preponderating, with a goodly number of skilled laborers and artisans employed in special occupations and manufactures. They and their descendants have furnished a large proportion of the manual workers of this country, but in the degree, that they acquire citizenship and Americanization, their children enter into more skilled pursuits. With the great increase of productive and construction enterprises, more and more skilled and unskilled laborers are wanted, the demand exceeds the supply and increasing numbers of industrious immigrants are more and more necessary, especially in the present condition of world-wide demands for American products and the urgency of catching up with our deferred maintenance and extensions of all sorts.

[1] Public Works. 49:347-8. October 9, 1920.

WAVE OF IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES FROM ALL COUNTRIES, 1820-1920



ARRIVALS 1820 TO 1920, 33,630,104. ESTIMATED ARRIVALS 1776 TO 1820, 250,000

*Bureau of Immigration*

The accompanying chart, prepared by the U.S. Bureau of Immigration, shows graphically the varying rates and exact amount of immigration for the century closing a few months after the end of the world war. For 27 years, until 1845, the rate was fairly regular, increasing from 8,385 to 114,371. From 1845 until 1918, inclusive, there have been enormous fluctuations, producing four great waves, each with several crests, the major ones being in 1854 (427,833 arrivals), in 1873 (459,803), in 1882 (788,992), and in 1907 (1,285,349 arrivals). These maximums were separated by extreme minimums of 72,183 in 1862, 138,469 in 1878, 229,299 in 1898, followed by a great drop to 110,618 in 1918.

Most of the variations are easily traceable to national conditions, which either forced people to leave their native countries or invited or repelled them here. The first wave was influenced by famine in Ireland and revolution in Germany. The next wave coincided with increased prosperity following our civil war; the third wave corresponded to a great shifting of the source of immigration from northern and western Europe to southern and eastern Europe, which furnished only 11 per cent in 1882 but 75 per cent in 1902. The fourth wave, 1901-1914, inclusive, is the greatest of all and corresponds with great prosperity and enormous construction in this country coincident with serious political, industrial and economic troubles and unrest abroad.

### *Sources of Immigrants*

At first the great majority of immigrants came from Great Britain and Ireland; after 1820 increasing numbers came from Germany, until its maximum of 1882, followed by a decreased yearly rate of 17,000 to 40,000 from 1895 until 1914, when it almost ceased with the beginning of the world war, the total being much less than from Great Britain.

Italy and Russia were almost negligible until 1882. Since then both have increased steadily and enormously until almost obliterated in 1915 by the great war. Italy sent 32,160 in 1882, a maximum of 77,647 in 1903, and 29,391 in 1914. Russia was 21,590 in 1882, a maximum of about 291,000 in 1913, and 255,660 in 1914. Austria-Hungary was 27,935 in 1881, a maximum of 338,452 in 1907, and 278,152 in 1914. Scandinavia averaged approximately 50,000 per year from 1869 to 1914, with extremes of 11,274 in 1877 and 105,326 in 1882.

*Summary of Arrivals from 1819 to 1919*

| Country | Total Immigration | Per cent of total |
|---|---|---|
| United Kingdom | 8,205,675 | 24.7 |
| Germany | 5,494,539 | 16.6 |
| Italy | 4,100,740 | 12.4 |
| Austria-Hungary | 4,068,448 | 12.3 |
| Russia | 3,311,400 | 10.0 |
| Scandinavia | 2,134,414 | 6.4 |
| Other countries | 5,884,887 | 17.6 |

During the century more than 90 per cent of the immigrants came from Europe and 2.4 per cent from Asia.

The above data have been derived from the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration, and are therefore authoritative.

## SEEK EQUITABLE SOLUTION OF OUR IMMIGRATION PROBLEM [1]

A study of the statistics of the report (Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration) for 1920 brings to light a number of surprising facts. The first is that the number of aliens leaving America for the countries of Central Europe exceeds in many cases the number of those who have come to America.

*Unskilled Labor Decreasing*

If the statistics of those admitted and departed are analyzed as to sex we find a new surprise:

| | Admitted | Departed | Increase |
|---|---|---|---|
| Males | 392,980 | 334,712 | 53,268 |
| Females | 228,596 | 93,350 | 135,246 |

This shows that the number of males who departed was so large that the increase by arrivals over departures was only

[1] By Sidney L. Gulick, Secretary, National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation. In the Annalist. 17:143. January 24, 1921.

58,268, while the same calculation for females shows their increase to have been 135,246.

Still another surprise comes when the statistics are analyzed as to the ages of those admitted and departed:

| Age | Admitted | Departed | Increase or Decrease |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under 16 | 96,304 | 22,012 | + 74,292 |
| 16-44 | 457,761 | 307,233 | +150,528 |
| Over 45 | 67,511 | 98,817 | — 31,306 |
| Total | 621,576 | 428,062 | 193,514 |

From this table it appears that the increase of population of those who are in the prime of life (between 16 and 44) was 150,528, and that for the ages 45 and beyond, aliens in the United States actually diminished by 31,306.

When the statistics are analyzed from the standpoint of occupations perhaps the greatest surprise of all comes to light:

| Occupation | Admitted | Departed | Increase or Decrease |
|---|---|---|---|
| Professional | 26,635 | 12,302 | + 14,333 |
| Skilled | 108,067 | 38,877 | + 69,190 |
| Miscellaneous | 149,374 | 77,265 | + 72,109 |
| Laborers (industrial) | 119,766 | 209,426 | — 89,660 |
| [1]No occupation | 217,734 | 90,192 | +127,542 |
| Total | 621,576 | 428,062 | 193,514 |

According to this table unskilled laborers in America have actually decreased during the year by 89,660, and in this connection it is interesting to note that, during the six years since the beginning of the great war, there has been a continuous stream of "laborers" away from our land. The annual figures are given in the following table:

*Alien Industrial Laborers Admitted and Departed*

| | Admitted | Departed | Gain or Loss |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1915 | 58,884 | 182,923 | —124,039 |
| 1916 | 61,828 | 97,437 | — 35,609 |
| 1917 | 56,458 | 32,655 | + 22,803 |
| 1918 | 50,232 | 75,179 | — 25,947 |
| 1919 | 32,284 | 99,139 | — 66,855 |
| 1920 | 119,766 | 209,426 | — 89,660 |

[1] Mostly women and children.

The immediate need for emergency legislation to stop immigration is not proved from the statistics of the years 1919-1920 and the statistics since July 1, 1920 are incomplete, the following being the only figures available:

| | Admitted | Departed | Increase |
|---|---|---|---|
| July | 83,959 | 39,505 | 44,454 |
| August | 85,431 | 43,800 | 41,631 |
| September | 98,400 | 31,200 | 67,200 |
| October | 101,000 | 33,000 | 68,000 |
| November | 103,000 | 34,000 | 69,000 |

Analysis of these figures either for sex, age or race is as yet impossible. It is not possible, therefore to say whether or not the immigration of the last six months has a depressing economic or industrial effect.

*Need For Intelligent Control*

It seems to be clear that, whether immigration is restricted as called for by the House bill, or is allowed to continue under the present laws, there will be no change in the volume of immigration. The number of dependent relatives in Europe of foreign-born American citizens and of those who have taken out first papers is generally acknowledged to be so large as to fill to the full for many months to come all steamships bringing immigrants from Europe. The proposed emergency legislation if passed will only change its character. It will be composed of parents and grandparents, wives, unmarried sons and brothers under 21, unmarried or widowed daughters and sisters, grandsons under 16 whose fathers are dead, and unmarried or widowed granddaughters whose fathers are dead.

But it is unlikely that the measure will pass. For two weeks, beginning January 3, the Senate Committee on Immigration held hearings on the House bill. A large amount of testimony was taken, and it seemed clear to the writer, who attended some of the hearings, that the committee would not take favorable action on the measure.

With the changed conditions in Europe it is more than ever essential that the United States should have well-thought-out and flexible immigration laws that will intelligently control the further make-up of our permanent population. We cannot undo the mistakes of our forefathers, but we surely ought not to go on forever making the same mistakes that they made.

Our new policy should be broad-minded and scientific; it should have a truly international outlook, and yet it should also be truly patriotic in the highest sense of the term. Such are the principal considerations that have led to the formulation of an immigration policy by the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation. This committee contends that the amount of immigration which might wisely be admitted from the various peoples to the United States depends on two factors --the ease and rapidity of assimilation of those admitted, and the economic and industrial conditions in America.

*Federal Board Proposed*

In order to carry out such a policy as this the National Committee proposes the creation of a Federal Immigration Board, with well-defined duties, powers and limitations. As formulated in the Sterling bill (S. 4594) the board would consist of the Secretary of Labor, Chairman ex-officio, and four members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. This board is to ascertain the facts in every part of the country as to unemployment, labor shortage, industrial and agricultural needs, assimilation, tendencies to congestion, the number of foreigners naturalized of each race, the number of children of foreign parents, the fitness and readiness of the different peoples to do the work desired, and their willingness to go to the regions where they are needed. In the light of these facts the board is authorized to fix yearly the amount of immigration to be permitted.

The Sterling bill defines three limits to this power of the board. The total immigration may not exceed three-quarters of 1 per cent of the total population of the United States, namely about 780,000 annually. The maximum immigration to be permitted to each people shall not exceed 10 per cent of the American-born plus the naturalized of that people, nor shall it exceed one-fifth of 1 per cent of the total population of the country.

The Sterling bill carries several other important features. It provides for the placing of immigration examiners in those areas in Europe whence most of the immigrants come in order that examinations may be made before the immigrants leave for America. Another provision is for a system of annual registration of all aliens in America. It also raises the standards of

naturalization and grants privileges of citizenship to all who qualify.

## OUR NATIONAL GATES—SHUT, AJAR, OR OPEN?[1]

When the House of Representatives failed to pass the Burnett Literacy Test bill over President Wilson's veto last year, another chapter was ended in the history of a long and bitter controversy about our national gates. The first began with the settlement of this land and was terminated by the War of Independence; the second was closed by the disappearance of the Know-Nothing party shortly before the Civil War, the third by President Cleveland's veto of the Lodge literacy test bill, the fourth by the creation of an immigration commission in 1907. The fifth was closed by President Taft's veto of the Dillingham-Burnett bill Feb. 13, 1913, whereupon began the sixth, which culminated as told above. An interesting seventh chapter is now being enacted.

### *Rise of Anti-Alien Feeling*

Of anti-alien feeling in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries little need be said. Those were still the dark days of bigotry. Nor is this the place for a long description of the second chapter of exclusionism—Know-Nothingism. The country was young. Universities were few, and higher education meant little more than the humanities. Men of enlightenment were scarce.

During the Civil War and subsequent period of reconstruction, anti-alien feeling existed in a latent state. It smouldered along until the early eighties, when immigration from Italy, Russia and Austria-Hungary increased. Then the sentiment broke out anew. In New England especially it became pronounced, and in 1893 the Immigration Restriction League was founded.

That same year Senator Lodge introduced the first literacy test bill, which, reintroduced three years later, was passed by Congress early in 1897. Its supporters thought their triumph had come, as there had been no systematic opposition to it. That it was objected to, however, was evidenced when President

[1] By Manoel F. Behar. Reprinted from the New York Evening Post by the National Liberal Immigration League, May, 1916.

Cleveland vetoed it as an unjustified "radical departure from our national policy." The House promptly passed it over the veto by 193 votes to 37, but it failed in the Senate, which had previously passed it by 52 votes to 10.

* * * * *

How came the Lodge bill to receive so many votes? How is it that various exclusion bills are introduced session after session, and have come near becoming law? There are, of course, active individual exponents, and also private citizens, unaffiliated with the exclusionist movement, who believe that immigration is largely responsible for pauperism, insanity, crime, unemployment, and other evils. All these are the Restrictionists.

In addition, there have sprung up during the last quarter-century a number of organizations, secret of nature, invidious in their workings, and powerful enough to merit at least a passing mention even in a brief description of the exclusionist movement. They generally assume a patriotic guise, and flaunt such terms as "Freedom," "America," or "Liberty," of which they style themselves children or custodians. They conduct a continuous campaign throughout the country. They maintain a lobby at Washington. They publish newspapers. They have well-paid organizers, who, to show efficiency, often prepare their field by spreading misconceptions. Whenever a vote on an immigration bill impends, they flood Congress with appeals, the tone of which at times reaches extraordinary fervor. These forces constitute the New Know-Nothingism.

However, the most powerful advocates of exclusion speak for a class of citizens who, according to some economists, have profited by immigration and would suffer from its stoppage—the skilled laboring class. The executive council of the American Federation has exerted every effort to secure arbitrary checks on immigration, as have the Knights of Labor, the United Mine Workers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and other unions. However, this attitude may be dictated from above. Indeed, labor organizations with hundreds of thousands of members have gone on record as opposed to further restriction.

The anti-immigration movement is thus composed of the Restrictionists, the Know-Nothings, and Organized Labor.

### *Attempts at Exclusions*

Ten years ago there came a new move. Representative Gardner introduced a bill raising the head-tax on every immigrant,

which was then two dollars, to forty dollars. For the first time in the history of the nation it became necessary for opponents of exclusion to organize. Their movement started, fittingly enough, in Boston. Some time later headquarters were established in New York, and the National Liberal Immigration League was launched, with President Eliot, Andrew Carnegie, Bishop Potter, Gen. Tracy, and William Lloyd Garrison among the committeemen. In Washington its formation was felt. The $40 head tax bill was shelved, and the exclusionists centered their efforts on the educational test.

Congress remained, however, impressed by the votes controlled by organized labor and other exclusionist influences, and in 1906 a bill providing for the educational test was passed by the Senate almost unanimously. President Roosevelt supported it, and a canvass of the House showed a large majority there in favor of it. Speaker Cannon and Representatives Bennet, Moore, Goldfogle, and Sabath fought it tooth and nail. The newly organized liberals also surprised the House, when delegations representing various nationalities proceeded to Washington at their behest. The bill failed in the House.

### *Immigration Commission Formed*

In January, 1907, the National Liberal Immigration League, seeing its opportunity, petitioned President Roosevelt and Congress to create a commission to investigate the subject. This was accepted as a substitute for the literacy test, and was included in the Immigration bill, from which the literacy test was dropped. Thus freed from a vexatious issue, the bill was quickly passed by Congress, and signed by President Roosevelt on February 20. In two other particulars the enactment of the law of 1907, which ended our fourth chapter, was a compromise. One was that the head-tax was doubled, although the $2 tax had already yielded a surplus of millions above all the expenses of the immigration service. This was of some satisfaction to the exclusionists. The liberals gained a desired point in that the new law created a division of information "to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens."

The creation of a commission was expected to afford both sides a two-year breathing spell, needed by the liberals to perfect their organization. This respite was soon interrupted by new moves on the part of the exclusionists, so that the fifth stage of the controversy began before the Commission had made its report. Attempts were first made to railroad restrictive bills,

but, these failing, the exclusionists tried new tacks. One was to suppress the Federal Distribution Bureau. They said it could be used for strike-breaking, and on the whole did more harm than good. The liberals on the other hand, claimed that "the problem of immigration is mainly one of distribution," and asked that the scheme be given a trial. The upshot was that the division remained, but its appropriation was cut down and its scope limited.

In December, 1910, the Immigration Commission brought in to Congress a preliminary report, finally adopted by its members "within a half-hour of the time when under the law it had to be filed." Commenting on it, Prof. H. Parker Willis, editorial adviser of the Commission, made the following admission:

"It is a fact that much of the Commission's information is still undigested, and is presented in a form which affords no more than a foundation for the work of future inquiries. * * * The result has been, instead of a small and finished study, a large and uncompleted body of data." (The *Survey*, January 7, 1911.)

The Commission, nevertheless, held that further restriction was "demanded by economic, moral, and social considerations," and eight of its nine members—Bennet dissenting—said: "We favor the reading and writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration."

Months afterwards, the information gathered appeared in forty-one octavo volumes.

### *Taft's Veto of Dillingham Bill*

Embodying the recommendations of the Commission, a bill was prepared under the direction of its chairman, Senator Dillingham, who introduced it in August, 1911. It codified the existing law and contained, besides the educational test, provisions which would have required for their enforcement the promulgation of regulations scarcely in keeping with American traditions. All immigrants, for instance, were to provide themselves with certificates of admission and identity, as well as return certificates upon leaving the country. The Dillingham bill had a lively history, and disagreements between House and Senate and their committees furnished several times an occasion for a vote, which was invariably in favor of restriction by a large majority. It was finally passed by the House on January 31, 1913, and by the Senate on February 4, without division in either case.

On February 6, President Taft adopted the unusual procedure of giving a hearing on the bill, which was attended by about 80 restrictionists, about 150 liberals, and a delegation from medical societies. Under the Constitution, the President has ten days in which either to sign a bill or return it to Congress without his approval. After that period, should he not veto it, it becomes law. Mr. Taft did not even express his view one way or the other until the evening of the tenth day, February 14, when, the White House stenographers having gone home, he wrote with his own hand a brief veto message, giving the educational test as the sole reason for his disapproval. On February 18, the Senate passed the bill over the President's veto, by a vote of 72 to 9. The following day it failed of passage in the House by 213 votes to 114.

Several days afterwards, Woodrow Wilson was installed as President. His opposition to further restriction was known; but the immigration service was placed in the new Department of Labor, whose head, Secretary B. W. Wilson, was known as an exclusionist. About twenty bills relating to immigration have been introduced most of which—including one introduced by Representative Burnett identical with that vetoed by President Taft—were restrictive.

### *Schemes For Restriction*

Here are some of these schemes:

(1.) The educational or literacy test. (In the Burnett bill the immigrant was required to read; in others, to write as well.)

(2.) The increase of the head-tax from four to eight dollars in the Burnett bill, to more in others. This tax has already yielded a surplus of some $11,000,000, all of which, in the words of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, "has come out of the pockets, not of the taxpayer of this country, but of aliens who are applying for admission." The immigration service requires about $2,000,000 yearly.

(3.) The extension of the Contract Labor law to "mental" laborers, a provision aimed at skilled artisans, musicians, and the like.

(4.) The exclusion of "persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority," a proposal which provoked humorous comments, because its advocates never could agree as to its definition.

The existing law bars out "idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons," and the like.

(5.) Although the existing law keeps out beggars, paupers, and persons likely to become a public charge, Mr. Burnett and others in their bills added "vagrants."

(6.) The "percentage scheme," *i.e.*, that immigration from any country during any one year be summarily restricted to a certain percentage of the number of immigrants from that country in the United States.

(7.) That male laborers must produce certificates showing that during one year immediately preceding their emigration they have earned a certain wage, which must be a stated percentage of the average wage paid in America for the same kind of labor.

(8.) That adult males be subjected to a physical examination and strength test equivalent to that for Army recruits.

The Burnett bill, after a hot debate, passed the House on February 4, 1914, by a vote of 252 to 126, or exactly two to one, and found its way to the Senate Committee on Immigration. Its Chairman, Senator Smith, reported it favorably on March 19, not only with the Burnett and other House restrictive proposals, but with additional ones, such as the "psychopathic inferiority" clause.

Several months later the war broke out, and friends and foes of immigration dragged it into the Burnett bill discussion. As was to be expected, restrictionists, exclusionists, and Know-Nothings found reasons for closing the gates. Prof. J. W. Jenks declared that the war "would undoubtedly force the United States to make changes in its Immigration law to prevent this country being flooded with Europeans after peace has come," and favored our making treaties with European nations to limit the post-war influx. The American Federation of Labor, anticipating a great rush, urged Congress to enact the exclusion of illiterates.

That most liberals minimized this sentiment was indicated by the scarcity of reassuring utterances, until the Liberal Immigration league, in December, refuted the contentions of the restrictionists. It issued its arguments shortly before the Senate took up the Burnett bill, that there is really no valid reason for fearing the prospect of a large post-war immigration, if properly handled.

The liberals' reply was well timed. The Senate practically

avoided the subject; but its desire to enact a law checking immigration was unalterable. After little discussion it passed the Burnett bill on January 2 by 50 votes to 7, with the literacy test and several amendments which necessitated a conference. The conferees reported on January 9 a bill from which several of the "fancy exclusion schemes" had been struck out. The literacy test, the exclusion of political refugees, and the "constitutional psychopathic inferiority" provision were retained. In this final form the bill was passed by the Senate on January 14, without division, and by the House on January 15 (227 to 94). Mr. Wilson not only followed Mr. Taft's precedent in holding a hearing —but he, too, waited until the tenth day before he issued his veto message. In it he stated: "If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary test * * * it is their privilege to do so. I am their servant and have no license to stand in their way. * * * Let the platforms of parties speak out on this policy, and the people pronounce their wish."

This places the question squarely in the hands of the electorate and introduces it as an important issue of the presidential campaign.

As soon as this message had been read before the House, Burnett moved to pass his bill over the veto. It was agreed to have this motion discussed one week later. Exclusion bitterness was not lacking during that period, and it was urged that the liberals wanted to "flood the country with cheap labor." The American Federation of Labor came out with scarehead, muckraking bulletins. In the end, the Burnett motion failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote.

For all that, the vote in the House was one of the largest in the history of Congress. There were 261 ayes and 136 nays, or no less than 397 Representatives voting out of 423. This is but one fact among many indicating that the controversy over immigration restriction is one actively participated in by a much greater proportion of the American people than is generally believed—even by some of those engaged in it!

Mr. Burnett and the exclusionists did not lose heart. When the Sixty-fourth Congress convened in December, 1915, the same bill was re-introduced, and on March 30, the House passed it by 308 votes to 87. The liberals put up a strong fight, but there were new phases of the immigration problem which had taken hold of the public mind without being understood—questions of

preparedness, "hyphenates," etc. As if the drastic restrictions of the Burnett bill would increase the loyalty of our foreign-born population!

[This bill was finally passed by Congress in February 1917 over the second veto of President Wilson. It contains provisions for a literacy test.—Ed.]

## IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION [1]

### *Colonial Times to 1835*

1819. A law was passed regulating the carriage of steerage passengers at sea and providing for the recording of statistics relative to immigration to the United States.

*"Native American" and "Know Nothing" Period,* 1835-1860. This period was characterized by active agitation, chiefly of an anti-Catholic nature, but practically no legislation resulted.

1836. The Secretary of State was directed to collect information relating to immigration of foreign paupers and criminals.

1838. The Committee on Judiciary in the House of Representatives was instructed to consider the expediency of revising the naturalization laws, and of providing by law against the introduction of vagabonds and paupers deported from foreign countries. No legislative action was taken.

1847-1848. Amendments to the law of 1819 in the interests of better steerage conditions were passed.

1855. Another attempt to regulate steerage conditions was made in the passage of a law providing for increased air space, better ventilation, etc. Unfortunately the wording of the act made these provisions practically inoperative.

### *Period of State Control, 1861-1882*

1864. A law was passed to encourage immigration for the purpose of meeting the anticipated demand for labor following the civil war. The law provided for the appointment of a Commissioner of Immigration. There was also a provision relating to contract labor, contracts entered on in foreign countries to be valid in the United States.

1866. An amendment to the foregoing law provided for

[1] A summary based on the Report of the Immigration Commission, prepared by Mary K. Reely for "Selected Articles on Immigration" (Debaters' Handbook), published in 1915, has been brought down to date for this volume.

additional commissioners of immigration to be stationed in cities on the Atlantic coast.

In this year Congress also passed a resolution protesting against the practice of foreign countries of using the United States as a dumping ground for criminals, etc.

1868. The law of 1864 was repealed.

1875. A law was passed providing for the exclusion of prostitutes.

1876. A decision of the Supreme Court rendered much of the state legislation relating to immigration invalid and the period of national control began.

*Period of National Control, 1882-*

1882. The first general immigration law was passed with the following provisions: A head tax of 50 cents was imposed; convicts (except those convicted for political offence), lunatics, idiots and persons likely to become public charges were excluded; the Secretary of the Treasury was given power of enforcement with the right to delegate powers to state authorities.

The first effective law regulating steerage conditions was also passed in this year.

1885. A law forbidding the importation of contract labor was passed. It made no provision, however, for inspection or the deportation of contract laborers.

1887. The defect of the contract labor law was remedied by an amendment giving the Secretary of the Treasury the right to enforce its provisions.

1888. Another amendment provided for the deportation within a year of any immigrant landed contrary to the law of 1885.

1889. A Standing Committee on Immigration in the Senate and a Select Committee on Immigration in the House were established. In 1890 these committees were authorized to make an investigation of immigration and the working of the various laws relating to it.

1891. On the recommendations of these committees a law was passed with the following provisions:

The head tax of 50 cents was retained.

Persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease, and polygamists were added to the classes to be excluded.

The encouragement of immigration through advertisements promising employment was forbidden, and transportation companies were forbidden to solicit or encourage immigration.

The office of Superintendent of Immigration was authorized and federal control of immigration was fully established by the transference to federal authorities of those functions that had been delegated to the states.

The commanding officer of any vessel bringing in alien immigrants was required to make full reports as to name, nationality, etc., of such aliens.

Examination on the borders of Canada and Mexico was provided for.

Provision was made for the return within a year of any alien landed in violation of the law, such return to be at the expense of the transportation company.

1892. A joint committee was appointed to make an investigation of the workings of the various laws.

1893. An amendment raised the head tax from 50 cents to $1.

1897. A bill providing for an educational test passed both houses, but was vetoed by President Cleveland.

1898. An Industrial Commission was created with power to investigate questions pertaining to immigration and to suggest legislation.

1903. A law was passed, the principal object of which was to codify all previous legislation from the act of 1875 to the act of 1894. It also raised the head tax from $1 to $2; debarred the following: epileptics, persons who had been insane within five years previous, or who had had two previous attacks of insanity at any time, professional beggars, anarchists; and made it unlawful for any person to assist in the unlawful entry or naturalization of an anarchist. The Department of Commerce and Labor was organized and the Commissioner-General of Immigration was placed under the jurisprudence and supervision of that department.

1906. A law was passed providing a uniform rule for naturalization of aliens. The designation of the Bureau of Immigration was changed to Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization.

1907. A number of bills relating to immigration were introduced in the sessions of the 59th Congress. After much discussion and many amendments a law was passed, of which the following were the provisions:

The head tax was placed at $4.

The following classes were added to those excluded: Imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, unaccompanied children under 17. persons "who are found to be mentally and physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of the nature which may affect the ability of the alien to earn a living"; "women and girls coming into the United States for the purpose of prostitution or any other immoral purpose."

A Division of Distribution in the Bureau of Immigration was authorized.

Steamship companies were required to furnish lists of outgoing passengers.

The Immigration Commission was created.

The President was empowered to call, at his discretion, an international conference, or to send commissioners to any foreign country for the purpose of regulating any matter relating to immigration by international agreement.

The President was also empowered to revoke the passports of aliens when it should appear that such passports were used by the holders to enter United States territory "to the detriment of labor conditions therein."

A section was added to the act of 1882 for the regulation of steerage conditions; to go into effect in 1909.

1910. The section of the act of 1910 relating to prostitution was strengthened by provision for the punishment and deportation of aliens who in any way profit from the proceeds of prostitution. This was followed by the interstate law prohibiting the transportation of persons from one state to another for purposes of prostitution.

1913. A bill providing for a literacy test passed both houses but was vetoed by President Taft.

1915. A similar bill was passed and vetoed by President Wilson.

*1916-1921*

1916. The bill vetoed by President Wilson in 1915 was reintroduced in the House by Mr. Burnett, passed by the House in March, amended and passed by the Senate in December, vetoed by President Wilson a second time and passed over his veto. Twenty-one other bills relating to immigration and thirteen relating to naturalization were introduced but not passed.

1918. The clauses of the immigration law relating to the

literacy test, the head tax and the contract-labor provision were set aside temporarily to provide for the admission of unskilled laborers from Mexico, West Indies and Canada for farm work.

1919. A bill was introduced into the House providing for the suspension of immigration for four years, which had the official support of the American Federation of Labor but failed to pass. Numerous other bills were offered but none came to a vote.

1920-1921. The Johnson bill was offered in the House providing for the suspension of immigration for two years, and the Dillingham bill was offered in the Senate limiting the admission of aliens to 5 per cent of the number of each nationality already residing in the country. The Johnson bill finally passed the House in December, but on submission to the Senate was replaced by the Dillingham Bill, with the number to be admitted amended from 5 to 3 per cent. The bill was passed by the Senate on the closing days of the Third Session, but was dropped thru the failure of President Wilson to sign the bill before he went out of office.

## NEED WE FEAR IMMIGRATION?[1]

Immigration to this country from Europe fell off tremendously as soon as the war began in 1914, and continued to decline more or less steadily until, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, there was but little net gain in our population from that source. In fact during that year only 110,618 immigrant aliens entered the United States from all sources, while 94,585 immigrant aliens left the country during the same period. This left a net gain of less than 18,000.

The decade preceding the opening of the European war gave us annually an average immigration exceeding one million and the net increase in population from immigration sources in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, was 769,276.

### *What Influences Immigration*

SPEAKING broadly two considerations underlie nearly all alien immigration:

1. Social conditions.
2. Economic conditions.

[1] By Anthony Caminetti; Commissioner general of Immigration. In the Forum. 61:343-8. March, 1919.

The first brought about the founding and original development of our country.

The second accounted largely for the phenomenal growth in population characterizing the last fifty years of our history and upon which was builded our modern-day industrial greatness.

Whatever changes the war will cause, it may be assumed that the migration of peoples will continue to be influenced as heretofore by social and economic conditions, barring, of course, artificial restraints or inducements.

Therefore, immigration to the United States or emigration from the United States in coming years is apt to depend substantially on the social and economic conditions existing in this and those other countries whose citizens are admissable as immigrants.

Thus the effect of the war on immigration will be to a large extent, for some years, influenced by the political and economic changes caused or produced by the war.

### *Social Improvements Abroad Due to the War*

It is probable that the war will produce great social improvements throughout most of Europe. The many reforms projected and the promise of land distribution to the masses in many countries where hitherto it has been held by the privileged few may retard the current that has been flowing towards us for generations; and yet, with all that, the average European is likely to continue to look upon our country as the great haven of freedom. And there is no doubt in my mind that many thousands will continue to seek refuge here for the same reasons, though they may not be so potent, as inspired the bulk of our early immigration.

Nothing but pure conjecture can be ventured as to the future operation of the other chief moving force in the tide of immigration, i.e., economic conditions.

If European countries maintain the validity of their war obligations, taxes will in future years demand a tribute which few persons until lately believed any people could bear. Those burdens may be reduced somewhat through lessened expenditures on military establishments, more economical governments and more equitable distribution of the taxes, but that they will be far beyond those of anti-bellum days, then considered highly oppressive, is certain.

Yet we must realize that the citizens of a number of European countries, England of course is included in this statement, bore, during the past four years, burdens far weightier than any they can expect for the future; and that those burdens were accompanied in some ways by a degree of individual prosperity among the masses exceeding any they had ever enjoyed in peace times. That such prosperity was economically false, may be true; but the fact is that, despite the tremendous tax of active war, workmen in nearly all the countries involved enjoyed better wages, and more favorable wage margins, than they had been accustomed to.

While food conditions in Europe for the present are distressing and threaten much suffering, such is only a temporary or passing factor which will be removed as peace-time production gets under way.

We must remember also that the four years of war had great adverse effect on the populations of European countries. While emigration all but ceased, millions were killed or died from disease or wounds at the front, millions were incapacitated, millions of civilians died or were broken by the strains and privations of war, and the birth-rate dropped almost universally.

Then, also, it may be estimated that there is more work at hand in Europe for those who survive, or rather more work needing to be done than was the case before. All the vast destruction of war calls, at least potentially, for replacement and the deficits in the implements of peace-time commerce caused by the deflection of energies into the activities of war need to be replenished. Indeed, the outlook for the European workingman of the peasant class, barring the period of adjustment from war to peace, may be much better than it was before the war.

Despite the tremendous destruction caused by the war and the huge debts incurred by the governments involved, and the consequent possible increase in taxation, it is not extravagant to imagine a post-war Europe offering to the potential immigrant attractions superior to those he had prior to 1914.

It is also true that the experience of war intensified the love of most Europeans for their native lands and gave added potency to the feeling of Auld Lang Syne. Many thousands who otherwise would have sought new lands will now find it difficult to break the bonds of blood and suffering which the war has added to the usual ties binding them to the environment of their fathers.

*Large Immigration of Soldiery Possible*

CONVERSELY, the conditions mentioned may inspire many to seek new scenes in which to try and forget the experiences they have known and witnessed; and this may also affect the millions of soldiers, most of whom—despite the heavy casualty lists—are strong and virile, and will be released from the armies to find new life niches wherever they can. The migratory spirit has ever been strong among veterans of wars. And the veterans of the Allied armies are likely to feel a veneration and respect for America even exceeding that always felt by the masses in Europe. Contact with our soldiers no doubt has enhanced their visions of American liberty, freedom and economic well-being even beyond the reports of fact and fancy which have ever made America a fairyland of promise to the peasantry of the Old World.

Of course immigrants will come.

Events only will indicate the comparative extent and duration of the movement. No doubt considerable more will come as soon as travel facilities are provided than arrived during the active war years, when as stated the net additions to our population from that source were negligible. Whether the tide will reach former proportions depends upon circumstances in this country and abroad.

Whatever may happen in the matter of volume, we may be assured that under existing laws there will be such an inspection that will cause to be debarred all those who cannot pass the prescribed tests. These will include not only all of those physically, mentally and morally not entitled to admission, but also that still more undesirable type commonly referred to as anarchists, who come for license rather than freedom.

*Will the United States Become an Emigrant Nation?*

The statement recently given public attention that the United States is in danger of becoming an emigrant nation, should not be taken seriously. No doubt many residents of this country of foreign nativity whose kin have suffered from the privations and horrors of war may visit the place of their birth to give comfort and aid to their loved ones; but in my opinion a large majority of them will return to the places in which they have prospered. No valid foundation has been found upon which to base the radical change predicted. Such statements have encouraged plans

to bring in laborers, now prohibited by law, to fill the places of those who would become part of the emigrating classes.

Without now taking up the claim that more laborers will be needed, whether or not the prediction is verified, I desire to call attention to the fact that a supply exists in abundance in Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands and the Philippines. What better way could be found to build up these possessions or what more suitable plan be devised to bind them to us, to obtain their confidence, to secure their trade, and aid their development, than to engage a portion of their people in our industries on the mainland? We would benefit them immensely and also avoid the reappearance of a disturbing problem that it has been our hope, from economic and other viewpoints, had been settled more than a quarter of a century ago.

## IMMIGRATION AND THE FUTURE[1]

Among the news columns of today one finds items like the following: "Twenty-five million people trying to come to America," "Congress asked to suspend immigration for two years," "Italian syndicate organized to promote immigration and to assist Italian immigrants in their enterprises in other countries; special schools organized to teach such emigrants to read and write and to trade, so the investments of the syndicate may yield a big return . . ."; "European radical labor chiefs plan to invade America . . ."; "Overseas corporation organized to bring in the families in Europe of immigrants in America at $300 per family . . ."; "Riot in America between the Venizelosists and royalists over the Greek election . . ."; "Russian trial, in the style of modern justice in Revolutionary Russia, took place last week in New York when a comrade was tried for misappropriating relief funds before the Comrades Judicial Tribunal. Three speeches were allowed for acquittal and three for conviction, and upon conviction the penalty imposed was publicity of the case and the restitution of property was ordered . . ."; "Commissioner-General of Immigration goes abroad to study conditions, and while he is on his way to Europe the Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York accuses the

[1] By Frances Kellor, Organizer and Vice-Chairman of the Inter-Racial Council. From the Annals of the American Academy. 93:201-11. January, 1921.

countries to which he is going of a plot to dump the radicals and criminals upon America."

What do these and similar items of national and international news denote? What is their significance in American life, and what do they portend in immigration affairs at a time when immigration is one of the most vital of questions which affect people of all nations?

They denote, first, a great confusion in American public opinion upon the subject of immigration, concerning the facts and fundamental questions involved, and concerning the new problems which the war has brought. They denote a divided public opinion with little clear leadership one way or the other. They denote, also, a lack of definition, an impatience with truth and a dislike of dispassionate analysis; characteristics of the public mind that must be dissipated if we are to deal wisely and justly with the immensely difficult and delicate immigration problems. Evidences are not wanting that informed minds and calm judgments will be needed to steer a safe passage through the immigration shoals, for between the temporary rush of people to this country to escape the post-war conditions in Europe and the intention of Americans to stop that rush to the United States, many treacherous spots intervene.

Among these treacherous spots in a judgment of immigration are the use of the quantitive tests whether in the admission of immigrants or in their naturalization. To continue to use these artificial tests to gauge assimilation either by percentages or by the numbers naturalized is to permit the continuance of the superficial tests which obtained during the war, and which since then have been revealed in all their hopeless inadequacy. Furthermore, to gauge assimilation by the prosperity of immigrants is to give undue recognition to the crude tests which industry supplies. It is not so much a question as to whether one thousand or ten thousand immigrants come to the United States as it is where they come from, why they come, what they have in mind, what their nations expect of them and what amount of assimilative process they require. It is not so much a question as to whether there is work for one thousand or ten thousand immigrants as it is whether there is a business system which will provide for their reception, distribution and adjustment, and which will insure economic assimilation. It is not so much a question as to whether immigrants have equal opportunity with Amer-

icans as it is whether there is a feeling of racial recognition and reciprocity and a willingness to welcome the immigrant to participate in American affairs which will insure that finer assimilation which only the American spirit can define.

The importance of taking these into consideration is indicated by changes in the immigrant himself. However much the immigrant may look and act upon arrival as did his predecessor, the fact remains that he is a rather different person since the war, partly because of his own experience and partly by reason of the necessities of his home country. He is weary of fighting, of hunger and privation, and wants with little effort a rest and prosperity. He is suffering from economic as well as from military shellshock, and pressure to increase his production at lower costs does not appeal to him. He is, in some cases, in sympathy with Bolshevist doctrines as he interprets them. These attitudes of mind might be dealt with easily if the immigrant who now comes to America were a wholly free agent, if he had burned all his bridges behind him and if he always looked forward instead of so often backward.

It now so happens that as a result of the war Europe and the United States both have different desires, while before the war the desires of both Europe and the United States were more nearly alike. The United States is now bent upon increasing production and lowering its cost, upon an open shop contest, and to further this it wants immigrant man-power. The United States needs consumers to take up the cheaper lines of goods to prevent waste, and thus lower the cost of living, and for this it relies upon new immigration. The United States needs immigrants with habits of thrift and frugality who will accumulate savings, and thus increase capital for new enterprises, and for this it needs immigrant wage-earners. In a word, if the incoming immigrant does not contribute some or all of these things, Americans do not want him because his coming will be a failure for himself and for this country.

Before the war, Europe, prosperous, powerful and sure of its future, was content to have millions of its emigrants go to America to help build a greater America, in the belief that when an emergency call came they would return home. The war revealed to European nations how great in men and resources and in ambition and power was this country which they had helped to build. It also revealed to them the great difficulty of holding

the allegiance of their own immigrants when once they had learned our language, had acquired new homes and citizenship, and had invested their savings in the United States.

Necessarily, then, Europe so sorely in need as it is today of money and markets, savings and leadership, and so insecure as to future peace, while it favors the emigration of its people to relieve the economic strain, however, is not greatly in sympathy with assimilation or Americanization of her emigrants in immigration countries. Rather is she bent upon a policy of race separation by which each country not only hopes, but will eventually plan, to keep its nationals united wherever they may be. This policy is contrary to that of the United States, where all immigrants are urged to become citizens.

The first step in the future immigration policy of Europe is to encourage all residents belonging to the minor nationalities in any given country to emigrate. This is best exemplified in the movement to expel Hungarians from Czecho-Slovakia and Jews from all European countries. This, in addition to economic pressure, explains the great rush toward the United States and to other immigration countries. The new immigrants are refugees, not only from the war, but also from the new European policy by which each country wishes to keep its racial strain pure. In case of future wars, each European nation will try to lessen the risk of disloyalty or treason from within, for each realizes that there may come a time when it may eventually stand alone, dependent wholly upon itself. This much the delay in the functioning of the League of Nations and subsequent events since the war have taught the nations of Europe. They think now not so much in terms of peace as of future wars, and plan accordingly.

The second step by European nations in this policy of race separation, as opposed to the American policy of assimilation, is the recall of nationals which began soon after the war had ended. This recall has two objects in view: first, to obtain information at first hand concerning the immigration country, its resources and opportunities, and to benefit by the immigrant's knowledge and savings; second, to infuse him with a new sense of nationalism and devotion, in order to further the fiscal and industrial plans of his native country.

The third step in this policy is the encouragement of emigration and its control after arrival in the new country. The fed-

eral official, who in a recent speech charged European governments with a plan to dump their criminals and radicals on the United States, was but voicing a worn-out American interpretation upon the present immigration movement which has an object far more astute, far more far-reaching than is yet apparent on the surface. It is not to the advantage of European countries in need of money, man-power, material and markets to spoil the large field of revenue and power which they see in immigration countries by the adoption of any such short-sighted plan. They are planning a far more statesmanlike handling of the situation which includes the future as well as the present.

Foreign nations mean to control the interests of these immigrants in new countries in the following ways: 1. They mean to protect them and win their gratitude. With this end in view, Holland has suggested calling a conference of European states to consider uniform plans for the protection of emigrants to be applied in countries of immigration. Many countries have already enlarged the powers of their consulates in the United States to protect their immigrants; and they are supporting societies and homes and movements to look after their nationals. They are encouraging them to apply to their consulates for advice and assistance. In this work they have able support from a considerable part of the foreign language press in this country. Some countries have gone so far as to suspend emigration to countries which do not protect immigrants and which do not provide them with good opportunities; and, on the other hand, to facilitate emigration to those countries which offer such protection and opportunities. 2. They mean to control the interests of their immigrants by obviously advancing their economic interests, by securing in advance concessions of free land, farm equipment, commercial opportunities and investments. 3. They mean to exercise this control through education, by means of the establishment of schools, and by supporting the foreign language press through advertising, and by fostering the establishment of cultural societies; all for the purpose of perpetuating the language, ideals, culture and interests of the native land of the immigrants. They mean to promote such control through commercial organizations and to use intelligently their nationals in trading companies to advance the sale of goods in the United States and to help them to secure new markets. To this end many such companies have already been established, and com-

mercial magazines in foreign languages are fast making their appearance as trade propagandist magazines. They mean also to keep in touch with their nationals by social events, and so far as the United States is concerned, it will increasingly see distinguished members of these races visiting their nationals here as guests of honor for the purpose of keeping home ties closer. They mean, at least, to consider the advisability of giving their nationals abroad representation in the home country. Thus we may see presently the racial societies in this country selecting such representatives to attend conventions and sittings in the native country.

To accomplish all this, foreign nations will, therefore, favor the establishment of immigrant banks, and of branch banks in immigration countries where the native language is spoken, thus to stimulate the transmission of money home and of investments in the homeland. They believe that if the pocketbook of the immigrant can be safely tied to the homeland all will be well.

Should the carrying out of these plans be less successful in some immigration countries than in others, European nations will then divert their emigrants to the more favorable countries. On the other hand, if it pays better they will keep them at home, or they will work out plans for the exchange of immigrants on the basis of temporary labor on some such arrangement as now exists between Italy and France whereby the former, having a surplus of men, lends them to France in exchange for coal and according to specified agreement as to their wages and living conditions. In the new epoch we shall see more rather than less of this commercial negotiation in which men are the pawns of nations.

What effect will this have upon the economic values of the immigrant to the United States? The present immigrant is not eager to do the kind of work which America most needs to have done. This changed attitude on his part may be due to several reasons. If he is a reservist, who has fought in the war, he tells us that he expects something better from America than the rough work he did before the war. If he has been through great hardships in the war, he says that he is not looking for an immediate job, but for an opportunity to escape from the results of the war in his home country. In any case, when he arrives in America he tells us that he does not intend to do hard manual labor. This changed attitude of the immigrant toward manual

labor, considered in terms of production, compares unfavorably in capacity, adaptability, skill and willingness with that of the immigrant who is returning to Europe. A balance to our credit in numbers may thus more than be offset by differences in capacity and willingness to work.

The employer, therefore, is making discoveries which are disturbing. In the near future he may not only have to employ two immigrants from the incoming class to do the work of one of the class before the war; and he may not only have to pay them at very nearly the same rate as the earlier immigrant received, but he may also have to deal with a new kind of workman who brings with him the Bolshevist theory of "working slowly on the job." Moreover, the employer finds that the new immigrant is more restless and more eager to get something for nothing than was his predecessor, which, of course, adds to the employer's increasing cost of production.

Few business men realize to what an extent the war has accentuated the internationalism of the immigrant. Today, the smallest employer or banker in the most remote American industrial village is now called upon to deal with questions which have their origin in circumstances quite beyond his conception, and with forces which have been in existence for centuries, and which now are operating through thousands of miles to reach him. He is, in most instances, quite unaware that the immigrant is a different unit of power from the native-born workman. The immigrant has traditions, customs, habits of thought and centuries of inheritance which the employer generally knows little about, and because of this ignorance may offend him, thus unwittingly causing a lasting resentment. The immigrant workman is the subject of solicitation from forces across the sea that the average employer hardly more than suspects—be they the propagandist from Russia, the appeals from his family in Europe or the importunities of his native government. He has worries and responsibilities, the extent and seriousness of which the employer can not possibly imagine, especially when he has his own mind fully occupied with questions of wages, housing and production. When the immigrant workman goes home, it is not to a consideration of affairs which the American readily understands, but it is more often to read his foreign language papers or to talk with his friends about conditions in the native land and what he can do to help change them.

Then, too, business will have to bear the cost of immigration turnover which is so evidently imminent, because the intention of foreign countries to hold their immigrants, the improved facilities for transportation which will facilitate their return, the negotations between countries which will tend to uproot men settled in one country to embrace what seem to be better opportunities in another, all of these will increase immigration turnover.

Many aliens who had been regarded by American employers as "settled" have become imbued with a spirit of nationalism that has created a desire to return to the homeland. Few American plants have kept the records of labor turnover by races, but as an illustration, it was found in one plant, where such records were kept, that the turnover among native-born employes was 66.8 per cent, while among those of foreign birth it was 104 per cent; that among the foreign-born employes, who were *naturalized,* the turnover was 82 per cent, while among those who were still *aliens* it was 110.9 per cent. As it costs this particular plant about fifty dollars per head for hiring and training each new worker, a further analysis of the labor turnover indicated that the cost per unit of increase was $163.41 for native born; $194.17 for naturalized foreign born; and $523.36 for the unnaturalized foreign born. Incidently, these discoveries illustrate a practical value to industry of separating on all cost sheets native and foreign-born workmen, a plan which so far few employers have adopted. The total cost of immigration turnover to American industry can not be as yet estimated.

Who can estimate, for instance, the cost to American industry of training aliens up to a point of efficiency in production and organization methods, and then have them return as competitors to Europe? Who can estimate what it will cost American industry, which receives the inexperienced peasant from Europe, undernourished by the war, to convert him into a well-conditioned, experienced workman; and then return him to Europe to produce goods in competition with American products? Who can foresee what it will cost American business to receive a million immigrants a year, teach them American methods, American technical skill, American ideals, the English language; and then have half of them, or more, return to their native land in an unfriendly and unsympathetic attitude towards American

business and towards the country, and with the bulk of their savings from American wages in their pockets?

There are some who believe that American business is under obligation to make such a post-war contribution to Europe. Granting this, would it not be well for the American business man to know, not only that this is a contribution to Europe, but also what it costs? Then, if he continues to so contribute, it would be because he was willing to do so and in full confidence that he was doing it in a businesslike manner. Only by complete knowledge, and by the adoption of business principles in all of our immigration undertakings, will the avoidance of resentment in our future commercial relations with foreign nations be made possible.

In this new age when immigrant man-power is such a vital commercial asset, what will become of the individual immigrant, the adventurer, the pioneer, the bird of passage, who sought a fortune or freedom from persecution? In the future he will leave his home with a heavier yoke of nationalism upon him, but it will be a yoke whose pressure will be gentle because of his willingness to bear it. The emigrant will leave, as he believes, to better his own condition, but his nation will understand that it is to relieve the economic strain. He will leave, as he believes, to join friends and relatives; but his nation will understand that it is for its own best interests. He will go, as he believes, for his own adventure and success; but his nation will understand that he goes for the glory of the homeland. It will, therefore, admonish him not to abjure his allegiance, but to report opportunities for investment, and to find locations for foreign capital in the new country. It will urge him to do everything in his power to advance abroad the interests of his native land. It will connect him with a racial organization, so he may keep aloof from, rather than join in, the affairs of the new nation.

The success of the various plans of European countries to use their nationals to advance their own interests depends upon the maintenance of economic solidarities in this country. If the immigrant shop, bank, employment agency, newspaper and trading company can be kept functioning together as one economic unit to help the consulate, if the activities of these institutions can all be headed up in a few responsible leaders in each group, if, in a word, racial economic solidarity and racial systems are maintained, then greater will be the profits to the native country.

If the racial society, foreign language newspaper, protective associations and relief associations can be kept functioning together as one social unit to promote the political interests of the various countries, then the greater will be the advancement of that country.

As a result of the success already attained in these fields, largely through our own shortsighted policy, there exists in the United States today, two economic systems; one for the immigrants under foreign-born leadership, and the other for the Americanized immigrant and native born under native-born leadership. Side by side they compete with each other. Each system has its own employment agencies; the one, where English is spoken; the other, where it is not. Each has its own way of handling laborers; the one, through the padrone who houses and feeds the workmen; the other, through boarding-houses which are run on American standards. Each has its own shops; the one, where imported articles from Europe predominate; the other, where American products come first. Each system has its own banks; the one, where the savings are transmitted to Europe and where foreign investments are encouraged; the other where savings become American deposits and purchase American securities. Each has its own societies and press; the one, which preserves the traditions, culture, and habits of the race; the other, which furthers the traditions of the United States. Each has its own trade relations with native countries; the one, which favors the interests of the foreign country and of the race; the other, which favors American trade interests only.

These racial agencies are as perfectly linked together in an economic system as are the parallel American agencies. Though they are far less powerful and resourceful than are the American agencies, yet, among their own people, they possess a greater potential power to influence their economic affairs. Identity of racial interest has in this way bound together the members of each race as no American interest has ever done.

This mobilization by racial organizations of racial resources in the United States has amazed the old world by its cohesiveness and by its wealth, power and masterful efficiency. The immigrant is met at Ellis Island by a racial missionary who speaks his language, and who, having the advantage of knowing his friends at home, at once establishes cordial relations. The immigrant is lodged in a hotel where the atmosphere reminds him

of his native country. Thus, the impressions which he receives concerning the United States come to him first through old world memories and experiences. He is next introduced to a "padrone" who secures work for him.

If this will be, in part, the economic effect of the future policy of European nations upon the immigrant, what will then be the political effect? Shall we have in addition to a dual economic system a dual political system? Shall the troubles of Europe be settled in America? Shall each racial group organize and assist in the direction of the affairs of its native country? This question has been brought to the fore by the war which has stimulated nationalism among all races and thus strengthened solidarities in many. It is but natural, then, to inquire if the immigrants who have given so much in order that their native countries will be free and independent, will not come to the United States prepared to use their utmost effort to see that in the future the results for which they fought so heroically are assured. When the return of King Constantine to the throne is a more burning question to Greeks in America than is the election of a President of the United States, and when this discussion is at its height at the same time that an American election is in progress, grave doubts necessarily must be raised in the minds of Americans regarding assimilation. When Albanians in America, many of whom have come to stay, are more divided into factions over conditions in the home country than they are united on their future here, such doubts are strengthened. An inventory of racial solidarities, their aims and activities, would help very much to set our doubts at rest, and to stimulate us to greater and more intelligent activity upon assimilation. Many inquirers can not see how America is to be kept free of international entanglements if a large section of its population, through its own subterranean channels, is assuming the direction of affairs in Europe. They foresee the time when there will be a division of opinion upon the attitude to be taken by the country as a whole.

But there are many others who see an infringement upon American liberty in the limitations of the powers of such organizations. To them, the discussion of international affairs by foreign language groups, with intent to circulate propaganda in favor of one party or the other in the home country, is a lesser evil compared to the greater danger of restricting the freedom

of expression in America. They, therefore, see little harm in meetings which are called to denounce foreign governments regardless of whether these governments are free or oppressive, or whether they are monarchies or democracies. They see no harm in permitting publications in foreign languages to be published in America which take a stronger position on foreign political events than they do upon American political events. They believe that organizations should be free to raise money for any purpose which they see fit, to be used abroad that they should forward resolutions expressing their opinion on the affairs of their native country; that they should send delegates, if need be, to deliberate in assemblies abroad which are dealing with native country affairs.

Upon a subject of such vital importance no general public opinion has as yet been formed. Both those who emphasize and those who minimize the dangers realize that before official action is taken a thorough-going analysis should be made of this new political situation, with a view to informing the country and receiving the benefit of its mature judgment. Obviously, the post-war immigration conditions, involving as they do the plans and intentions of emigration countries and the preparation by countries of immigration for the entry and reception of the immigrants, or their exclusion, create a situation which legislation can not remedy, which restriction will not prevent, and which suppression can not cure.

The racial economic system has no fixed intention of being inimical to the interests of America. As it has grown up as the result of isolation and neglect by the American business man, it can become incorporated into the American economic system only through his change of attitude. For the moment, quite our own fault, this identity of economic interest, in many instances, is stronger between the foreign born and the home country than it is between him and the United States, and sometimes stronger between races in America than between races and native born. If assimilation is to succeed we have to apply to the conquest of this system a high degree of business intelligence.

The American bank has to sell itself to the immigrant in competition with the racial bank if the immigrant's savings are to be used to build up American business and capital instead of building up foreign business and capital. The American employer has to provide conditions of work, standards of management, rates

of compensation and standards of hours, not merely for altruistic motives, but to meet the competition of countries like Argentina, Australia, Canada, and later Russia, and also to meet like competition in the native countries of the immigrants. Failing in this, he may later also fail to obtain immigrant man-power.

The American merchant has to take the American standard of living to the immigrant and induce him to like it, not merely to protect the workingman, nor for any other altruistic reason, but to follow its own law and create a market for American goods; otherwise, the immigrant's own countrymen may take the market away from him in spite of the tariff or any other legislative protection, or they may use the skill and experience gained in the United States to establish trading companies, the main profits of which will not go to American business. The publisher, the material vendor of American ideals and ideas, must too sell his product to the immigrant not merely for patriotic reasons, but because it pays. And, finally, the English language press has to sell American opinion and points of view to the immigrant in competition with racial and international opinion and points of view, not merely for patriotic motives, but because the American news market is the one most closely identified with American business success.

In dealing with these facts we must guard against playing into the hands of our foreign competitors—whether for markets or for man-power. Resentment, repressive legislation, discriminations, arbitrary closing of the gates causing needless suffering to families will but increase bitterness toward the United States. Shutting out immigration will not eliminate propaganda, even though this action may stop propagandists in person.

This is not the answer. It is the systematic integration of the immigrant into American economic life, beginning with his arrival; it is the enactment of immigration treaties, based upon a study of the various countries, through which can be determined the aptitude for assimilability of various races, and the cost and time it will require, since obviously, as some races will require more time than will others to be adjusted into American life, some such preliminary is necessary. More and more, as our science of racial relations develops, will our studies and analysis turn to the source of immigration. It may well be that we shall need some legislative safeguards to protect American interests because the tide of immigration has caught this coun-

try unprepared to receive its immigrants properly, to distribute them evenly, to protect them from exploitation, to provide facilities for learning English or to connect them with Americans immediately upon their arrival. Then, too, this country has not authentic information regarding racial activities, principles and means of assimilation which will enable it to provide at once such a system. It is child's play to bring together educators and social workers to discuss immigration compared to the task of bringing together racial and native American bankers to unite their efforts in practical banking to further the protection and investment of immigrants' savings in this country; to the task of bringing together native American and racial merchants and dealers in the interests of American trade; to bring together native and foreign language press editors in an effort to unite racial opinion with American public opinion; and to unite native and foreign-born workmen in the same plant, free from racial animosities and bitter activities against each other.

Neither is it easy to have fire insurance companies see that their best Americanization work is to teach the American standard of living as a means to lessen fire hazards; to have credit men see that the soundest Americanization is to extend credit to the foreign born and to have American capital invested in racial business; to have life insurance companies see that their Americanization contribution is to compete with racial societies that are in effect insurance organizations; and to have each industrial plant see that its work begins at home by including immigrant workmen in management plans, and by making those plans intelligible to them.

When we have obtained such economic cohesion between native and foreign born at home we may then present a united effort in our conquest of foreign markets, in the expansion of our financial transactions, and in the full discussion of international affairs to which we must eventually be a party, but from much of the knowledge of which we are at the present time isolated.

Neither will this country achieve economic assimilation by multiplying organizations, by extending mechanical agencies, or by creating formal facilities like classes in public schools, unless there is a genuine fusion of economic interests. Each race as well as the native American must by study and by association together arrive at a recognition and just appraisal of each

other's qualities and capabilities. Each race as well as the native American must arrive at a full reciprocity which will permit of the initial exchange of ideas and ideals, by association together in work and business. Each race as well as the native American must arrive at that point of participation in American affairs which makes this greater than participation in any other affairs—in this way the identity of interest of all people in America becomes permanent and broad and therefore sound.

In casting about for the leadership which this complicated racial, business and governmental situation requires, the Immigration Committee of the Senate of the United States under the distinguished leadership of its Chairman, himself a student of immigration affairs, seems to possess the requisite power to assemble the data in this country and abroad and to make such an analysis as is required for calm deliberation, as well as the capacity to formulate for submission to the country a sound policy which will recognize the international difficulties while safeguarding American interests.

## SUSPEND IMMIGRATION? WHAT OF INDUSTRY?[1]

EMPLOYERS and civic bodies are likely to be heard on the subject of suspending immigration when the house committee on immigration begins consideration of the bills now pending. Local chambers of commerce have been making surveys and forwarding data to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. That body has not taken action in regard to any of the bills introduced in the house, but it is understood that the consensus of opinion among the members is that the legislation should be limited to the exclusion of undesirables. This opinion, it is said, is not based on any selfish grounds and does not proceed from any purpose to antagonize the American Federation of Labor, which is seeking to erect a barrier against foreign labor, but is based on the conclusion that if we are to increase our industrial operations we must have more men with which to do so and that it is contrary to American principles to shut out the honest law-abiding alien who seeks to establish his home in this country.

[1] By A. J. Hain. Iron Trade Review. 65:757-63. September 18 1919.

The National Federation of Construction Industries, Philadelphia, is now taking a poll of its members to determine their attitude on the question. The questions set forth on its ballots are:

Do you believe that the present immigration laws, as amended at the last session of Congress, with provisions for stringent literacy tests, ought to be given an opportunity for trial before further legislation is enacted?

Do you feel that with the marked emigration of labor, which has been going on during the past few months, it would be desirable to amend existing legislation to eliminate, or make less stringent, literacy tests?

Do you feel that it would be desirable for legislation to be enacted which would stop all immigration for a period of three or four years?

Are you now experiencing a labor shortage, either skilled or unskilled?

Do you expect that you will have a shortage of labor in the near future?

*Compromise Measure Submitted*

The last bill introduced in the house, Aug. 20, by Representative Johnson, of Washington, chairman of the House Committee on immigration, was prepared as a compromise, to represent the composite views of the members of the committee. It bars for two years all aliens except travelers, students, professional men, skilled labor and aliens who departed to aid the allies. Those who are admitted must make affidavits and procure passports. After the termination of the period of suspension an alien will be admitted when he has sworn to a statement:

That he is coming to the United States for the bona fide purpose of becoming a citizen.

That at the earliest possible moment he will learn the English language and become acquainted with the form of government and the institutions of this country, and that he will obey the laws.

That he will register once each year until he becomes a citizen with the county clerk of the county wherein he may reside, or with an immigration officer designated.

That he understands and agrees that he may be deported for failure to register or to take the necessary steps to become a citizen of the United States.

An alien will not be entitled to citizenship unless he has continuously resided in the United States five years. If within one year from the date when he is first entitled to the privilege he fails to become a citizen he will be deported. An alien who fails to register is also subject to deportation.

On May 19, Representative Johnson introduced his original bill to suspend immigration for two years and to deport "any alien who believes in, practices, advocates, teaches, sanctions, or encourages the extortion of money or property or avenging grievances through threats of bodily injury or injury to property, or is a member affiliated with any organization that so practices . . ."

*Would Require Registration*

This bill proposed that within one month after it became effective all aliens be compelled to register. They would be required to register thereafter semiannually and renew their certificates of identification for four years. It was proposed to charge a fee for registration and the issuing of certificates, the fees to be reduced as the registrant submitted proof of his ability to read and write the English language and the acquirement of a "fair knowledge" of the American form of government. No fee would be charged after the alien became naturalized. The bill also provided for the provisional admission under bond of certain aliens whose records the government might desire to investigate.

*Proposes to Limit Immigration*

A bill was introduced by Representative Dillingham, Aug. 15, limiting the admission of aliens to 5 per cent of the number of their nationality already resident in the United States.

Representatives Raker and Lufkin introduced bills proposing to suspend immigration for four years, and Representative Harrison submitted a bill increasing this to five years. Other bills have been introduced to deport those aliens who proved disloyal to the United States during the war, or who refused to fight for the United States on the ground of noncitizenship.

From the number of bills introduced it is evident that the United States is going to be more particular in the future as to what goes into the "melting pot." The literacy test, it is said, has not safeguarded the interests of the United States as fully as present demands require. The drawback to that legislation is that it has served to keep industrious men out of the country

while offering no barrier to those of limited intelligence but infinite capacity for doing wrong.

So far as concerns the suspension of immigration, President Wilson has not expressed himself to Congress, but he has most emphatically declared in favor of continuing war-time restrictions against the admission of aliens with evil purposes. The exclusion of the criminal classes has been adopted as a national policy, but on the question of suspending all immigration there is much difference of opinion.

"Two versions of the immigration situation have been presented to our committee," says Representative Knutson, Republican whip, and a member of the immigration committee.

"One was that European countries, especially those in which fighting took place, will need the service of every able-bodied man in the task of rehabilitating the devastated regions. This demand should create working conditions and such attractive wages as to induce the workers to remain in their native lands.

"The second theory was that because of unsatisfactory living conditions in Europe there will be a tremendous exodus as soon as transportation facilities make it possible.

"Commissioner Howe originally took the first view of the situation. According to some of his more recent articles, however, he has revised his opinion and now expects to see our immigration stations jammed with applicants unless Congress decides to impose restrictions.

"As to the attitude of our committee, the majority members take the view that it is up to us to report out legislation that will prevent a glutting of the American labor market. I think a temporary period of suspension of immigration will be the inevitable result. This period may be fixed at two to four years."

A double barrier may be erected against the Europeans who may wish to come to the United States. England, France, Italy and Germany have taken measures to keep their workmen home. Laws, either proposed or in process of enactment, have been supplemented with associations to procure work and induce men to remain. In May there was started in Germany the *Reichastelle fur deutsche Answandrung und Ruckwanderung* to work for the return of Germans now in other countries. All of these efforts combined with the increasing amount of work provided in foreign countries will have some effect in limiting immigration at least within the next few years, regardless of what action Congress may take.

## TO CLAP THE LID ON THE MELTING-POT [1]

The most elaborate and most widely discust plan for regulating immigration is that sponsored by the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation and advocated by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick before the House Committee on Immigration. The Manchester *Union,* Boston *Transcript,* Springfield *Republican,* Indianapolis *News,* and St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* all find something to commend in the Gulick plan and prefer it to the flat exclusion idea, but do not venture to guarantee its complete practicability. The chief points in the plan have been summarized in the newspapers as follows:

"1. The complete suspension of all labor immigration for a period of two years or longer.

"2. The regulation of all immigration thereafter on a percentage principle, with the application of this principle to each people or mother-tongue group separately, but impartially.

"3. The annual admission of from 5 to 15 per cent, (or 3 to 10 per cent.) of those of each people already naturalized, including the American-born children of that people as recorded in the 1920 census.

"4. The creation of an immigration commission to determine annually the rate within the specified limits, with power to admit or exclude labor under exceptional circumstances, to formulate plans for the distribution of immigration, and to deal with other specified and exceptional matters of importance, including the formulation of educational standards for naturalization.

"5. The sending of examining immigration officers to ports from which immigrants largely sail.

"6. The raising of standards of qualifications for citizenship and the extension of the privileges of naturalization to every one who qualifies.

"7. The separation of the citizenship of a wife from her husband.

"8. The repeal of all laws dealing specifically and differentially with the Chinese."

The Springfield *Republican* points out that under this plan—

"Restriction would be particularly rigid against immigration from south, central and east Europe. The maximum permissible immigration during a year under the proposed plan would be

[1] Literary Digest. 62:28-9. July 5, 1919.

approximately 95,000 from Italy, compared with 285,000 in 1914 and 265,000 in 1913; from what was Austria-Hungary, 132,000, compared with 278,000 and 254,000; from Russia, 125,000, compared with 255,000 in 1914; and from Japan, 2,481, compared with 10,213 in 1918."

In an article in last week's *Annalist* (New York) Dr. Gulick asserts that his plan "will reduce the evils and dangers of Japanese immigration more effectively than does the present method of dealing with Japanese immigration." But, he continues:

"The immediate and outstanding advantage of the proposed percentage law arises from the way in which it enables us to regulate immigration from Europe.

"In place of the free immigration now permitted—20,000,000 might conceivably come to our shores in the next five years this plan sets up a flexible standard which will admit only so many as we can hope to Americanize and employ. . . .

"These advantages are of paramount importance. And they will all be gained without race discrimination, East or West, and on a basis equally fair and friendly to all."

The plan thus defended by Dr. Gulick, who is an authority on, and a long time resident of, the Far East, finds its severest critics on the Pacific coast. The Spokane *Spokesman-Review* considers the proposal to naturalize Chinese, Japanese, and similar aliens already here thoroughly "objectionable." Victor S. McClatchy, editor of the Sacramento *Bee,* denounces the Gulick plan as Japanese propaganda and an attempt to secure for the Japanese what was denied them by the Paris Conference.

## CANADA TO RESTRICT IMMIGRATION[1]

The old open-door policy in regard to immigration which has hitherto prevailed in the Dominion of Canada is now a thing of the past. The amendment to the Immigration Act, which was passed at the recent session of the Canadian House of Commons, provides the machinery for effectually putting up the bars against undesirable immigrants to the Dominion, and this legislation will go into effect before the end of the year.

The nine important changes in the immigration policy provide for:

(1) Extension of the prohibitant clauses to all, including

[1] By Owen E. McGillicuddy. Review of Reviews. 60:196. August, 1919.

Britishers—to exclude those suffering from diseases or bad habits, criminalism, folk of low mentality, etc.

(2) To establish such machinery as will see this exclusion efficiently and sufficiently applied.

(3) To extend the time for deporting aliens, if found to be undesirable, from three to five years.

(4) Greater responsibility in connection with the transportation of immigrants and increased penalties for not giving these facilities.

(5) The barring of all skilled and unskilled labor from Asia.

(6) To admit only such people as can be readily absorbed and assimilated.

(7) To secure farmers with some capital and farm help, male and female.

(8) To secure later settlers from among Imperial soldiers.

(9) To abolish, possibly, the head tax on Chinese and enter into an agreement with the Chinese Government to admit only limited numbers.

The announced policy of the government has been heartily approved by organized labor and the Great War Veterans, who contend that while the financial, transportation, and industrial problems demand an increase in population, the government should protect the welfare of the country and the future generations by making the present laws more stringent.

# AFFIRMATIVE DISCUSSION

## THE VANISHING AMERICAN WAGE-EARNER[1]

The native American wage-earner is rapidly disappearing. Along with him have also gone his working companions of former years, the English, Irish, Scotch, Swedes, Norwegians, and Germans. In their places have appeared the representatives of almost two score alien races from the south and east of Europe, and the Orient. Only one fifth of the workers in our mines and manufacturing plants to-day are native Americans. About one tenth of our wage-earners are the native-born children of parents from Great Britain and Ireland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. More than three fifths of our great body of industrial workers are southern or eastern Europeans.

There is scarcely a city or town of any industrial importance east of the Mississippi, and north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers, which has not its immigrant colony, composed of members of the Italian, Magyar, and Slavic races. Practically the same situation exists in the mining states of the West. The Pacific coast, in addition to its Chinese, Japanese, and Hindoos, has also received its contingent of southern and eastern Europeans. Wherever there has been any industrial development—in the coal mines of Kansas and Oklahoma, the iron-ore mines of the Mesabi and Vermilion ranges of Minnesota, the furnaces and mills at Pueblo, Colorado, and Birmingham, Alabama, the packing-houses in Kansas City, South Omaha, and Fort Worth, the copper mines of Tennessee, the coal mines of Virginia, as well as in the mines and mills of the East—the Slav, the Hungarian, and the Italian have found a lodgment in the operating forces. As a rule, the extent of their employment decreases as industry moves westward, but even in the West these races are rapidly becoming predominant among the industrial workers. Their status is also not confined to the substratum of unskilled workmen, but they are found in all grades of the industrial scale,—with the exception of the executive and the technical positions,—from

[1] By W. Jett Lauck, member of the U. S. Immigration Commission, 1907-1910. In Atlantic Monthly. 110:691-6. November, 1912.

the hightest to the lowest occupations. A brief review of several basic industries will forcibly disclose the real significance of the recent racial substitutions in our mines and manufacturing establishments.

## II

Only one fourth of the iron and steel workers of to-day are native Americans, and only one eighth are the descendants of the older skilled immigrant employees, who received their training in the mills and furnaces of Great Britain and Germany. Practically all of these are in the more responsible executive and technical occupations. The superintendents of our iron and steel manufacturing plants are unable to persuade the native Americans to enter the industry, and are wondering whom they will get to take the places of the foreman and skilled workers of the present generation. Three fifths of the employees of our furnaces and steel mills are of foreign birth. Two thirds of these immigrant workmen are southern and eastern Europeans of recent arrival in the United States. Polish, Magyar, and Slovak iron and steel workers, combined, equal in number the native Americans in the industry; and the North and South Italians, Lithuanians, Russians, and Croatians together outnumber the English, Irish, Scotch, and Germans. The operating forces of the industry until twenty years ago were exclusively composed of native Americans and older immigrants from Great Britain and Northern Europe. In the decade 1890-1900, southern and eastern Europeans found employment in the mills and furnaces, and the pressure of their competition has gradually driven out the members of races at first employed.

The displacement of the native American miner has been even more sudden and widespread than that of the iron and steel worker. Only one fifth of our bituminous coal miners are native Americans, and less than one tenth are of native birth and foreign parentage, the children, that is to say, of British and northern European immigrants. More than sixty per cent are foreign born. Three fourths of the immigrant employees are from the south and east of Europe, and among these the Italians, Poles, Slovaks, Croatians, and Lithuanians are numerically predominant.

The low-paid and unskilled southern and eastern European immigrants were first employed in the western Pennsylvania

mines. With their advent, native workers and northern and western European employees were gradually displaced. Some went to the mining localities in the Middle West and Southwest, and some left the industry entirely to engage in other occupations. The native American and older immigrants, who remained in the Pennsylvania mines, were those who held or were advanced to more responsible positions, and the few who were left in the unskilled occupations were usually the inert and the unprogressive. The recent immigrants, after inundating western Pennsylvania, moved on to the Middle West, and the American miners and those of British extraction in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, are being steadily displaced by them. As in the case of the Pennsylvania mines, the older immigrants are leaving the industry or moving to the coal fields of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Colorado, where the competition of the southern and eastern European is less keenly felt.

Practically the same conditions with the same results have been brought about by the entrance of the southern and eastern European into the anthracite mines. The American and older immigrants, originally employed, have left the industry, or have migrated to the western coal and metalliferous mining fields, and those who remain are chiefly in the supervisory and responsible positions.

The recent immigrant industrial invasion has also extended to the iron-ore and copper mines. The great majority of iron-ore workers in the Birmingham district in Alabama are Negroes, the tide of recent immigration to the Southern States thus far having been very small. On the iron-ore ranges of Michigan and Minnesota, however, only about one eighth of the employees are native Americans. Three fourths are of foreign birth, the principal races represented being the Croatians, Finns, North and South Italians, Poles, Slovaks, Slovenians,[1] and Swedes. In the copper mines of Michigan and Tennessee the same preponderance of foreign-born employees exists. About one fifth of the workers in the copper mines are native Americans, and about one eighth were born in America; but their parents were born abroad. The great majority are Croatians, Finns, Poles, North Italians, Slovenians, and English. The Finns and the English were the orginal copper-mine workers, but they have been, and

[1] A people of south-western Hungary, related to the Croatians as the Slovaks are to the Bohemians. In the rate of immigration the Slovaks lead; next come the Hebrews, while the Slovenians rank third.—THE EDITORS.

are gradually being, displaced by the southern and eastern Europeans.

With the exception of a few Italians in the mills in New Orleans, there are no foreign-born textile operatives in the Southern States. The immense labor force called into existence by the demand for labor growing out of the extraordinary development of cotton-goods manufacturing in the South has been recruited from the native-born agricultural classes and mountaineers of that section. In New England, however, the situation is entirely different. There is scarcely a race from the south and east of Europe or the Orient which does not have its representatives among the employees of cotton, woolen, worsted, silk, hosiery, and knit-goods mills.

When the cotton mills were first started in New England, the looms and spindles were tended by the sons and daughters of the farmers who lived in the surrounding country. As the industry expanded, skilled and experienced operatives were attracted from England, Scotland, and Ireland. After 1850 the French-Canadians came in large numbers in response to the growing demand for operatives. These sources of labor-supply continued until 1890, when southern and eastern Europeans began to find employment in the mills. As their employment became more extensive, the immigration of English, Irish, Scotch, and French-Canadians declined, and during the past decade has practically ceased. Not only has this class of work-people stopped entering the mills, but those already employed have sought work elsewhere, and the southern and eastern European employees are now predominant.

The same condition of affairs prevails in the other branches of the textile industries,—woolen, worsted, silk, carpet, hosiery, and knit-goods manufacturing,—as in the cotton mills. The native Americans and older immigrant employees have been superseded by foreign-born operatives of recent arrival in the United States.

At the present time, the native Americans in the New England cotton mills scarcely make up one tenth of the total number of operatives employed. The proportion of native Americans in other branches of textile manufacturing, as compared with cotton goods, is slightly larger, but even then is exceedingly small. Only one seventh of the employees of our woolen and worsted mills and silk-dyeing establishments, and only one fifth of those in our silk mills and carpet factories, are of native birth, and of native

fathers. About one operative out of each three workers in hosiery and knit-goods establishments is a native American. Three out of every five operatives of cotton, woolen, worsted, and carpet mills are of foreign birth, and two out of three of these foreign-born wage-earners are of recent arrival from southern and eastern Europe and the Orient. Three out of every four operatives of dyeing establishments for silk goods are aliens.

The Poles, Greeks, Italians, Portuguese, and Lithuanians are the predominant races of recent immigration employed in our cotton, woolen, and worsted mills. In the spinning, weaving and dyeing of silk goods and carpets, and in the manufacture of hosiery and underwear, the North and South Italians, Magyars, and Poles are the leading races of recent arrival in the United States among the employees. Among the immigrants in all of these industries are also to be found considerable numbers of skilled operatives from England, Scotland, and Ireland, and from Germany. The French-Canadians form an important proportion, especially among the cotton and woolen mill operatives.

Such are the racial elements in the operating forces of our basic industries. Furthermore, this situation is typical of all the less important divisions of industry. The United States Immigration Commission included within the scope of its exhaustive investigations in all parts of the country more than forty of the leading branches of mining and manufacturing. Everywhere—in the manufacture of agricultural implements, cigars and tobacco, boots and shoes, clothing, furniture, glass, gloves, leather, petroleum, collars and cuffs, electrical supplies, machinery, locomotives, and a score of other industries—the same condition of affairs was found to exist. The native American occupied numerically a subordinate position among the wage-earners and, along with the representatives of older immigrant races from Great Britain, was being rapidly displaced by southern and eastern European employees, who had been securing employment in all kinds of mines and manufacturing establishments.

## III

The southern and eastern European immigrant who has so extensively found employment in our mines and factories has had no industrial training abroad. He has also brought with him a low standard of living, and has been tractable and subservient. As a result, his competition has exposed the native

American and older immigrant employees to unsafe or unsanitary working conditions, and has led to or continued the imposition of conditions of employments which the Americans and older immigrants have considered unsatisfactory and, in many cases, unbearable. Where the older employees have found unsafe or unsanitary working conditions prevailing, and have protested, the recent immigrant wage-earners, usually through ignorance of mining or other working methods, have manifested a willingness to accept the alleged unsatisfactory working conditions.

The southern and eastern European also, because of his tractability, necessitous condition, and low standards, has been inclined, as a rule, to acquiesce in the demand on the part of the employers for extra work or longer hours. The industrial workers have also accepted without protest the system of so-called company stores and houses, which prevails extensively in bituminous and anthracite coal, iron-ore, and copper mining, and other industrial localities.

The presence of the recent immigrant industrial worker has also brought about living conditions or a standard of life with which the native American and older immigrant employees have been unwilling, or have found it extremely difficult, to compete. The southern and eastern European wage-earner is usually single, or, if married, has left his wife and children abroad. He has no permanent interest in the community in which he lives or the industry in which he is employed. His main purpose is to live as cheaply as possible, and to save as much as he can. Consequently, he has adopted a group method of living known as the "boarding-boss" system. Under this plan, from eight to twenty men usually crowd together in a small apartment or house in order to reduce the per capita outlay for rent, and buy their own food and do their own cooking. The total cost of living ranges from eight to fifteen dollars per month for each member of the group. The impossibility of competition by the native American with such standards of living needs no discussion.

In addition to these conditions, brought about by the influx of southern and eastern European industrial workers, another factor, mainly psychological in its nature, but no less powerful in its effect, has been operative in the displacement of native Americans and older immigrant employees. In all industries, and in all industrial communities, a certain reproach has come to be associated with native American or older immigrant workmen

who are engaged in the same occupations as the southern and eastern Europeans. This feeling on the part of the older employees is mainly due to the habits of life and conduct of recent immigrants, and to their ready acceptance of conditions; but it is also largely attributable to the conscious or unconscious antipathy, often arising from ignorance or prejudice, toward races of alien customs, institutions, and manner of thought.

The same psychological effect was produced upon the native Americans in all branches of industrial enterprise who first came into working contact with the older immigrants from Great Britain and northern Europe. In the decade 1840-1850, when the Irish immigrant girls were first employed in the New England cotton mills, the native women who had previously been the textile operatives protested; twenty years later the Irish girls, after they had become firmly fixed in the industry, rebelled because of the employment of French-Canadian girls in the spinning rooms, just as the French-Canadian women refuse to be brought into close working relations with the Polish and Italian women who are entering the cotton mills at the present time. Whatever may be the cause of this aversion of older employees to working by the side of the newer arrivals, the existence of the feeling has become one of the most potent causes of racial substitution in manufacturing and mining occupations.

## IV

It is obvious that the advent within recent years of the southern and eastern European into American industrial life has been a matter of most serious consequence to the American workman, and the present-day competition of the same racial elements is of the greatest significance to the native-born and older immigrant wage-earners. The labor unions of the original employees, which should have been among the greatest factors in assimilating industrially the recent immigrant, and in educating him to American standards, in some industries—as for example bituminous coal mining in western Pennsylvania, or the cotton mills of New England—have been completely inundated, and wholly or partially destroyed by the sudden and overwhelming influx of southern and eastern Europeans. In other industries, where the competition of the immigrant of recent years has not been so directly felt, as in the glass industry, where skilled workmen were formerly necessary, the labor organizations are being weakened and undermined indirectly in other ways.

Everywhere improved machinery and mechanical processes are eliminating the element of skill formerly required of employees, and are making it possible for the unskilled foreign-born workman to enter occupations which have hitherto been beyond his qualifications, because they required previous training or an extended apprenticeship. Formerly, in order to be a pick- or hand-miner a number of years of training was necessary. Now a machine does the work and unskilled workmen attend it. By means of the automatic loom and ring-spinning-frame an unskilled immigrant from the south or east of Europe may now become a proficient weaver or spinner within a few months. The former highly skilled work of blowing glass bottles, as well as window and plate glass, may now be done by machinery manned by foreign-born employees who have been in the United States less than three months and who, before their employment, had never seen a glass factory.

In all industries, the immigrant wage-earner, through the elimination of the requirements of skill and experience, is being brought directly into contact and working competition with the native American and older British or northern European wage-earner. Unless the latter can do something to elevate the standards of the recent immigrants, their competition in the higher occupations will be followed by as serious results as have already attended their invasion of the lower grades of the industrial scale.

Much has been written in the past decade relative to the social and political effects of recent immigration. The recent exhaustive investigation of the Federal Commission, however, has revealed the fact that these phases of the problem are comparatively of little import. The actual problem is found in the industrial effects of the recent alien influx. Existing legislation cannot settle this problem. Its solution is dependent upon a change in our present immigration policy.

## FUTURE OF AMERICAN IDEALS [1]

This movement of peoples from the Old World to the New is on a scale unprecedented in history, and its effects cannot fail to be profound and far-reaching. What will they be?

[1] By Prescott F. Hall, Secretary, Executive Committee, Immigration Restriction League, Boston. North American Review. 195:94-102. January, 1912.

Americans have hitherto paid very little attention to this question: first, because they have not considered the difference between hostile and peaceful invasions in history; and second, because they fail to observe that recent immigration is of an entirely different kind from that which our fathers knew. The earlier immigration having been of kindred races and having produced no profound changes, our people became used to the phenomenon and took it as a matter of course. At the present time, most of us consider that the movement now going on is similar to that which has been, and anticipate results no different from those previously observed.

If the million people coming every year came not as peaceful travelers, but as an invading hostile army, public opinion would be very different to what it is; and yet history shows that it has usually been the peaceful migrations and not the conquering armies which have undermined and changed the institutions of peoples. To take the classical error on this subject, we have been told repeatedly that, on the one hand, it was the conquering Goths and Vandals, and on the other hand, their own vice and luxury, which cost the Romans their empire. The real cause of the fall of Rome was neither of these things. It was the constant infiltration into Roman citizenship of large numbers of "barbarians"—that is, of races alien in instincts and habits of thought and action to the races which had built up the Roman Empire.

The "barbarians" of the present time, however, do not come from the plateaus of central Asia or from the jungles of Africa; they are the defective and delinquent classes of Europe—the individuals who have not been able to keep the pace at home and have fallen into the lower strata of its civilization.

Formerly, America was a hard place to get to, and a hard life awaited those who came, although the free and fertile land offered rich prizes to those with the energy to grasp them. Today, the steamship agent is in every little town in Europe; fast steamers can bring thousands in a few days, and wages, often indeed not enough for an American to live decently on, but large in the eyes of the poor European peasants, await the immigrant on landing. There is, moreover, abundant testimony to the fact that much of the present immigration is not even a normal flow of population, but is artifically stimulated in every

possible way by the transportation companies which have many millions invested in the traffic.

Those who believe that we can assimilate all the aliens who may come usually qualify their belief by saying that, although we may not succeed entirely with the parents, we can succeed with the children, and that the salvation of the situation is the public school. They also point out that many immigrants have had little opportunity for improvement in their own countries and may develop rapidly in a new environment. Now just as the Latin races make a fetish of the State, we Americans are apt to make a fetish of education, and we constantly fail to discriminate between education as the molding of character and education as the imparting of information. Far the larger part of a child's education comes from his home and his companions, rather than from his schooling. Emulation and imitation are the two mainsprings of his growth. We should never forget the somewhat hackneyed truth that education, in general, brings out what is in the man, be it good or bad, and seldom puts much there which was not there before. For this reason it is very questionable whether the small amount of schooling the children of most aliens receive plays a very large part in the total of influences brought to bear upon them; and it is still more debatable whether it appreciably alters their characters, or does anything more than bring out their inherited instincts and tendencies. Undoubtedly immigrant children crowd our schools because it aids them in the struggle for existence, and is usually paid for by some one else. Undoubtedly, also, many of them obtain high marks and show considerable capacity for storing up information.

Nevertheless, as has been said, schooling is but a small part of the influences to which the child is subject, and the tendency of recent immigrants to crowd into the cities and to settle in racial groups means that a very large part of the influences affecting the children will be those of their neighbors and coworkers of the same race. As in John Bunyan's parable, a small quantity of oil poured secretly and steadily upon a fire will cause it to withstand a large quantity of water poured upon it from all directions. Moreover, to a great extent this water of public-school education will fail to quench hereditary passions, because the latter are so strong that the former will be vaporized, so to speak, and pass off without closely touching them. Dr. Gustav

LeBon, in his "Political Psychology," has thus expressed this phase of the matter:

> Education merely sums up the results of a civilization; the institutions and the beliefs representing the needs of such civilization. If, then, a civilization does not harmonize with the ideas and sentiments of a people, the education setting forth this civilization will remain without effect upon it; in the same way that institutions corresponding to certain needs will not correspond to different needs.

The result in such a case will be, not a true amalgamation of races, but a mixture of peoples as in Austria-Hungary, living side by side, sharing certain interests in common, but never wholly merging into a general national type.

Can we not already see certain effects of the newer immigration upon our social life? In many places the Continental Sunday, with its games and sports, its theatrical and musical performances, and its open bars, is taking the place of the Puritan Sabbath. In some of our factory towns there are many operatives living under the system of free marriage, and in at least one place the method of building tenements has been altered to correspond to this system. Professor Commons notes that we have already begun to despotize our institutions in order to deal with large masses of citizens not capable of intelligently supporting representative government.

We have to contend not only with alien habits and ideals, and with the fact that these differences cannot be effaced by education in one or even two generations, but also with the fact that we are getting a great many immigrants who are below the mental, moral, and physical average of both our country and their own. A recent writer in a leading German review has said: "The immigration of the last decade has increased the number of hands, but not the number of heads, in the United States." While this may be an extreme statement, there is the unanimous testimony of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, the Commissioner at the Port of New York, and the Immigration Commission, which has recently spent several years studying the matter, to the fact that for one immigrant whose defects are so marked as to put him in the classes excluded by law there are hundreds, if not thousands, who are below the average of our people, and who, as George William Curtis put it, are "watering the nation's life blood."

Recent investigations in eugenics show that heredity is a much more important factor than environment as regards social

conditions—in fact, that in most cases heredity is what makes the environment. This is confirmed by the practice of the insurance companies which attach the chief importance to the hereditary characteristics of an individual. If this position is sound, education and distribution can only palliate the evils and delay fundamental changes. As Professor Karl Pearson says: "You cannot change the leopard's spots, and you cannot change bad stock to good; you may dilute it, possibly spread it over a large area, spoiling good stock, but until it ceases to multiply it will not cease to be."

Intelligent foreigners, like Bourget, H. G. Wells, and LeBon, are continually surprised that Americans pay so little regard to these matters. Already our neighbor to the north has become much more strict as to those she admits than we are; and, in fact, the Dominion is now rejecting at the border many whom we have admitted.

## WHY IMMIGRATION SHOULD BE RESTRICTED[1]

There is one further step which is an absolutely essential part of the Americanization campaign. The problem is difficult enough, at best, to require all the energy, and time, and money that can be given to it. But no thorough Americanization can possibly be accomplished unless the numbers of incoming alien immigrants are kept within reasonable limits. It is an absolutely impossible task properly to (1) educate, (2) assimilate, (3) Americanize and (4) naturalize our foreign-born population if millions forever keep poring in. It is exactly like trying to keep a leaking boat bailed out without stopping the leak. To expect any reasonable success in this campaign, immigration must be restricted.

The balance of expert opinion on the question of our probable immigration in the years immediately ahead is that, as soon as ocean transportation is again fully established, there will be a far larger immigration than ever before. It is the opinion of American diplomatic and consular officers in Europe, and of competent correspondents who have recently traveled extensively abroad, that there is everywhere a more widespread desire than

[1] By Robert de C. Ward. In Review of Reviews. 59:512-16. May, 1919.

ever to "go to America." All the arguments which may be urged in favor of a decreased immigration, based on the need of labor for reconstruction and for agriculture abroad, collapse when we remember that the great magnet of "America" will continue to draw immigrants to this "promised land." Our part in feeding and caring for vast numbers of people abroad, and in helping to win the war as liberators of the oppressed, and as ready to sacrifice, if necessary, any number of lives and endless sums of money for an ideal, will prove new incentives.

Immigration is essentially a matter of economic conditions here and abroad. As the late Gen. Francis A. Walker so well put it, "the stream of immigration will flow on as long as there is any difference in economic level between the United States and the most degraded communities abroad." A recent writer after considerable study of the subject, has put the probable annual number of immigrants who will soon be coming here at 2,000,000. Be that as it may, the most enthusiastic believer in the success of the Americanization movement can hardly face the prospect of a steady annual immigration of even only several hundred thousands without doubt and discouragement. To hope to accomplish successful Americanization when the supply of aliens keeps up is to have an optimism "beyond all bounds of reason." A real restriction of immigration is a necessary and a logical part of the Americanization program.

### *Temporary Decrease Due to the War.*

The effect of the war in temporarily diminishing the volume of immigration to the United States was, of course, expected. From an annual immigration of nearly a million and a half during the fiscal years 1913 and 1914, and an annual net increase in alien population (i.e., deducting the numbers of those who returned to their own countries) of 800,000, the number of immigrant aliens fell to a little over 325,000 during the year ending June 30, 1915. In the fiscal years 1916 and 1917, about 300,000 came, while in the year ending June 30 last the number of immigrant aliens was only 110,000.

While 110,000 is a very small immigration as compared with the very much larger numbers in the years preceding the war, it is worth noting that these alien immigrants arrived at the rate of more than 2,000 a week and nearly 10,000 a month.

From July to November, 1918, the number of immigrant aliens was 45,909, and of non-immigrant aliens 30,456. How all these

immigrants have managed to get here during wartime is a mystery. Obstacles innumerable have been in their way, yet they have kept coming. That they have done so, in spite of the difficulties, shows what is likely to happen on a vastly greater scale in the next few years, when transportation by rail and steamship is once more fully restored.

It has always been held by those who are concerned regarding the admission into the United States of mentally and physically defective aliens that, with a smaller number of alien arrivals, the work of inspection can be more effectively done, with the inevitable and greatly to be desired result that fewer undesirables will escape detection. Our experience during the war has borne out this view. The increase in the percentage of rejections during the past four years is to be ascribed, according to the Commissioner-General of Immigration, to two causes: first, a deterioration in the quality of immigration itself; and second, to more rigid inspection made possible by decreased numbers.

In the earlier days of the war there was a large emigration from the United States of men belonging to the various belligerent countries who went home to fight. The majority of these will naturally come back. As soon as transportation conditions become more normal, there will be a further considerable exodus from the United States of both men and women belonging to the nations which have been at war. These recent immigrants will go home to ascertain the fate of their relatives and friends; to see what has become of their family property, and to bring back with them to this country as many as possible of their families and friends still left abroad.

## RACIAL CONSEQUENCES OF IMMIGRATION [1]

In the six or seven hundred thousand strangers that yearly join themselves to us for good and all, there are to be found, of course, every talent and every beauty. Out of the steerage come persons as fine and noble as any who have trodden American soil. Any adverse characterization of an immigrant stream implies, then, only that the trait is relatively frequent, not that it is general.

In this sense it is fair to say that the blood now being

[1] By Edward A. Ross, Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin. Century. 87:615-22. February, 1914.

injected into the veins of our people is "sub-common." To one accustomed to the aspect of the normal American population, the Caliban type shows up with a frequency that is startling. Observe immigrants not as they come travel-wan up the gangplank, nor as they issue toil-begrimed from pit's mouth or mill gate, but in their gatherings, washed, combed, and in their Sunday best. You are struck by the fact that from 10 to 20 per cent are hirsute, low-browed, big-faced persons of obviously low mentality. Not that they suggest evil. They simply look out of place in black clothes and stiff collar, since clearly they belong in skins, in wattled huts at the close of the great ice age. These oxlike men are descendants of those *who always stayed behind.* Those in whom the soul burns with the dull, smoky flame of the pine-knot stuck to the soil, and are now thick in the sluiceways of immigration. Those in whom it burns with a clear, luminous flame have been attracted to the cities of the home land and, having prospects, have no motive to submit themselves to the hardships of the steerage.

To the practised eye, the physiognomy of certain groups unmistakably proclaims inferiority of type. I have seen gatherings of the foreign-born in which narrow and sloping foreheads were the rule. The shortness and smallness of the crania were very noticeable. There was much facial asymmetry. Among the women, beauty, aside from the fleeting epidermal bloom of girlhood, was quite lacking. In every face there was something wrong—lips thick, mouth coarse, upper lip too long, cheekbones too high, chin poorly formed, the bridge of the nose hollowed, the base of the nose tilted, or else the whole face prognathous. There were so many sugar-loaf heads, moon-faces, slit mouths, lantern-jaws, and goose-bill noses that one might imagine a malicious jinn had amused himself by casting human beings in a set of skew-molds discarded by the Creator.

Our captains of industry give a crowbar to the immigrant with a number nine face on a number six head, make a dividend out of him, and imagine that is the end of the matter. They overlook that this man will beget children in his image,—two or three times as many as the American,—and that these children will in turn beget children. They chuckle at having opened an inexhaustible store of cheap tools and, lo! the American people is being altered for all time by these tools. Once before captains of industry took a hand in making this people. Colonial planters

imported Africans to hoe in the sun, to "develop" the tobacco, indigo, and rice plantations. Then, as now, business-minded men met with contempt the protests of a few idealists against their way of "building up the country."

Those promoters of prosperity are dust, but they bequeathed a situation which in four years wiped out more wealth than two hundred years of slavery had built up, and which presents today the one unsolvable problem in this country. Without likening immigrants to negroes, one may point out how the latter-day employer resembles the old-time planter in his blindness to the effects of his labor policy upon the blood of the nation.

It is reasonable to expect an early falling off in the frequency of good looks in the American people. It is unthinkable that so many persons with crooked faces, coarse mouths, bad noses, heavy jaws, and low foreheads can mingle their heredity with ours without making personal beauty yet more rare among us than it actually is. So much ugliness is at last bound to work to the surface. One ought to see the horror on the face of a fine-looking Italian or Hungarian consul when one asks him innocently, "Is the physiogonomy of these immigrants typical of your people?" That the new immigrants are inferior in looks to the old immigrants may be seen by comparing, in a Labor-day parade, the faces of the cigar-makers and the garment workers with those of the teamsters, piano-movers, and steam-fitters.

Although the Slavs stand up well, our southern Europeans run to low stature. A gang of Italian navvies filing along the street present, by their dwarfishness, a curious contrast to other people. The Portuguese, the Greeks, and Syrians are, from our point of view, undersized. The Hebrew immigrants are very poor in physique. The average of Hebrew women in New York is just over five feet, and the young women in the garment factories, although well developed, appear to be no taller than native girls of thirteen.

That the Mediterranean peoples are morally below the races of northern Europe is as certain as any social fact. Even when they were dirty, ferocious barbarians, these blonds were truth-tellers. Be it pride or awkwardness or lack of imagination or fair-play sense, something has held them back from the nimble lying of the southern races. Immigration officials find that the different peoples are as day and night in point of veracity, and

report vast trouble in extracting the truth from certain brunette nationalities.

Some champions of immigration have become broad-minded enough to think small of the cardinal virtues. The Syrians, on Boston testimony, took "great pains to cheat the charitable societies" and are "extremely untrustworthy and unreliable." Their defender, however, after admitting their untruthfulness, explains that their lying is altruistic. If, at the fork of a road, you ask a Syrian your way, he will, in sheer transport of sympathy, study you to discover what answer will most please you. The Anglo-Saxon variety of truthfulness," she adds, "is not a Syrian characteristic"; but, "if truthfulness includes loyalty, ready self-denial to promote a cause that seems right, the Syrian is to that extent truthful." Quoting a Syrian's admission that his fellow-merchants pay their debts for their credit's sake, but will cheat the customer, she comments, "This, however, does not seem to be exclusively a Syrian vice." To such paltering does a sickly sentimentality lead.

In respect to the value it contains, a stream of immigrants may be representative, superrepresentative, or subrepresentative of the home people. When it is a fair sample, it is representative; when it is richer in wheat and poorer in chaff, it is superrepresentative; when the reverse is the case, it is subrepresentative. What counts here, of course, is not the value the immigrants may have acquired by education or experience, but that fundamental worth which does not depend on opportunity, and which may be transmitted to one's descendants. Now, in the present state of our knowledge, it is perhaps risky to make a value comparison between the races which contributed the old immigration and those which are supplying the new immigration. Though backward, the latter may contain as good stuff. But it is fair to assume that a superrepresentative immigration from one stock is worth more to us than a subrepresentative immigration from another stock, and that an influx which subrepresents a European people will thin the blood of the American people.

Many things have decided whether Europe should send America cream or skimmed milk. Religious or political oppression is apt to drive out the better elements. Racial oppression cannot be evaded by mere conformity; hence the emigration it sets up is apt to be representative. An unsubdued and perilous

land attracts the more bold and enterprising. The seekers of homesteads include men of better stuff than the job-seekers attracted by high wages for unskilled labor. Only economic motives set in motion the sub-common people, but even in an economic emigration the early stage brings more people of initiative than the later. The deeper and smoother the channels of migration, the lower the stratum they can tap.

It is not easy to value the early elements that were wrought into the American people. Often a stream of immigration that started with the best drained from the lower levels after it had worn itself a bed. It is therefore only in a broad way that I venture to classify the principal colonial migrations as follows:

Superrepresentative: English Pilgrims, Puritans, Quakers, Catholics, Scotch Covenanters, French Huguenots, German sectaries.

Representative: English of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, Scotch-Irish, Scotch Highlanders, Dutch, and Swedes.

Subrepresentative: English of early Georgia, transported English, eighteenth-century Germans.

In our national period the Germans of 1848 stand out as a superrepresentative flow. The Irish stream has been representative, as was also the early German migration. The German inflow since 1870 has brought us very few of the élite of their people, and I have already given reasons for believing that the Scandinavian stream is not altogether representative. Our immigration from Great Britain has distinctly fallen off in grade since the chances in America came to be less attractive than those in the British Empire. However, no less an authority than Sir Richard Cartwright thinks that "between 1866 and 1896 one-third at least of the whole male adult population of Canada between the ages of twenty and forty found their way to the United States," and this "included an immense percentage of the most intelligent and adventurous." Today we reciprocate by sending western farmers with capital into the Canadian Northwest. Our loss has amounted to as many as 100,000 in a single year.

Oppression is now out of fashion over most of Europe, and our public lands are gone. Economic motives more and more bring us immigrants, and such motives will not uproot the educated, the propertied, the established, the well connected. The children of success are not migrating, which means that

we get few scions from families of proved capacity. Europe retains most of her brains, but sends multitudes of the common and the sub-common. There is little sign of an intellectual element among the Magyars, Russians, southern Slavs, Italians, Greeks, or Portuguese. This does not hold, however, for currents created by race discrimination or oppression. The Armenian, Syrian, Finnish, and Russo-Hebrew streams seem representative, and the first wave of Hebrews out of Russia in the eighties was superior. The Slovaks, German Poles, Lithuanians, Esthonians, and other restive subject groups probably send us a fair sample of their quality.

## IMMIGRATION STANDARDS AFTER THE WAR[1]

One of the knottiest problems which will have to be faced in the establishment of a world state or a league of nations will be the question of the movement of people. Under the national economy which has prevailed hitherto, every state has assumed its own right to determine what should be the constituents of its population so far as extrinsic contributions were concerned—in other words, the right to control immigration—and few states, with the exception of Japan, have questioned the legal or moral right of other states to make such a determination. On the other hand, few modern states have found it expedient to place limitations upon the movements of their own people within their own territory.

Whether the era of internationalism which is now dawning results in the formation of a world state, or in a more loosly coordinated league or federation of self-determining units, in either case there can be only two general alternatives as regards migrations. Either there will be a free right of passage over the entire territory included in the state domain, analogous to the present right of travel within a given country, or else restrictions must be placed by the central authority, or by the federated states in accordance with a common agreement and consent, with respect to boundaries broadly similar to those which now separate existing nations. In the former case, there would be introduced the new principle of discrimination within a given jurisdiction; in the latter, the way would be left open

[1] By Henry Pratt Fairchild. Annals of the American Academy. 81: 73-9. January, 1919.

to uncreditable bitterness, jealousy and dissension. Either solution is full of uncertainties and dangers.

It is the purpose of this paper to show that, great as are the difficulties of migration control under a world government, for the present the scientific and only safe course is to insist upon restrictions (so far as the United States, at least, is concerned) at least as rigorous as those which were in operation before the outbreak of the war. The demonstration of such a proposition calls for a matter-of-fact, impersonal analysis which seems at first to ignore the claims of humanitarianism and universal brotherhood, and yet is as fully legitimate as if the subject under discussion were the transplantation of fruit trees, or the control of river currents.

The ultimate goal of the present convulsion, the military phases of which have happily terminated, and the political and social phases of which have just begun, is the establishment of universal democracy. Democracy is composed of various elements, and is difficult of definition or description. But of its material elements there is no better embodiment and criterion than the standard of living of the common people. Where the standard of living of the people is high, relative to the general producing power of the territory, there democracy flourishes, by whatever name the government may be called. Where the masses live on a low plane of comfort, democracy languishes and dies, however great may be the tabulated wealth of that nation. Speaking of the world at large, if a higher standard does not result for the great bulk of mankind, all this blood will have been shed largely in vain. If there should result a general lowering of the standard over the entire globe it would be an unspeakable calamity, dwarfing all the untold horrors and losses of the conflict itself.

For the remainder of this discussion, let us lay to one side all question of the inferiority and superiority of racial stocks, and think only of the tangible values of material comfort and spiritual welfare, about which there can hardly be a difference of opinion. What is the obligation of the United States with reference to maintaining, and if possible raising, the standard of living of the great masses of mankind, of whatever race or affiliation?

The naive answer to this question might easily be that our duty is to share our blessings as liberally and impartially as

may be with all those who care to participate in them, all the more so, since our losses in defense of democracy have been so trivial in comparison with those of our gallant Allies who have borne the burden of the conflict. If there were, before the war, hosts of conscientious, intelligent people who were ready to throw our doors wide open to "the down-trodden and oppressed of every land," there will be more now who will conceive it as the acme of national selfishness if we refuse asylum to the would-be refugees who will seek to escape the drudgery and hardships of the reconstruction period in Europe.

Let us set down certain basic considerations bearing upon the question, with reference to which there will be general agreement and which will clarify the more dubious steps of the argument. In the first place, there is little doubt that before the war the people of the United States enjoyed a higher standard of living than any other considerable nation. This was ours, not because of any special merit of our own, but because of the peculiarly fortunate conjunction of land, climate and historical development which has given us an unparallelled command over the sources of wealth. Our standard is rather in the nature of a free gift than an achievement. In the second place, it will hardly be denied that if the spirit of universal brotherhood is to dominate the world, those of us who have been fortunate enough to have our lot cast in this bountiful land must not seek to monopolize these blessings entirely for ourselves, just because we happen to be now in possession of them, or because the nation of which we are the constituent parts has "owned" them for a century and a half. Surely the modern thing, the altruistic thing, the post-magnum-bellum thing to do is to share these benefits as unreservedly as possible, particularly with those suffering peoples with whom we have been so closely associated during a year and a half of war. The crucial question is whether or not we can best share them by allowing the individual representatives of those and other peoples free access to the land from which we draw our wealth and power.

No space need be devoted to a portrayal of the dire conditions which would result if large contingents of foreign labor should be admitted to this country within two or three years from the present date. It is painfully obvious that we shall have all that we can do to handle the problems of demobilization of our own army, and readjustment of our industrial situa-

tion, without serious injury to our standards of wages and working conditions. Such an immigration as was normal during a busy year before the war would now be an intolerably complicating factor. Probably this will be prevented without any direct action by the use of shipping for other purposes, and other contributory forces. But if it should transpire that the current of immigration labor began to flow once more while our army was still being demobilized, such a current should certainly be checked by effective means, however drastic. The larger problem, however, has to do with the effects which may be expected to follow the resumption of immigration when peace conditions are measurably restored.

Modern immigration, as is recognized by all authorities, is largely an economic phenomenon, that is, it represents a search for a higher standard of living. Almost without exception, the countries which furnish large bodies of immigrants to the United States have a standard lower than ours, or at least the classes which emigrate have a lower standard than similar classes in this country. More than that, our general standard is so much higher than that of most foreign countries that our lowest economic classes have a standard above that of much higher classes in other lands. Immigration, therefore, represents the introduction of lower standards into a country of higher standards.

The immigration of foreign labor to the United States tends to lower the standard of living of our working classes. It numerically increases the supply of workers bidding for employment and therefore tends to lower the prevailing wage or at best prevent it from rising. This is a sufficiently serious influence, but if the immigrants were habituated to the same standard as the natives, so that the effect was exclusively numerical, the result would not be necessarily calamitous, especially in times of expanding industry when immigrants come most freely. Immigration, however, has an influence much more powerful and much, much more disastrous, that is directly connected with the standard of living itself.

The introduction of a relatively small contingent of foreign labor into an industrial country may have a depressing effect upon the standard of living of the working people in that country out of all proportion to the numbers involved, provided that the immigrants are accustomed to a definitely lower standard than the natives. The process may be schematically described as

follows: Suppose that there is in the United States an industrial town centering about one great plant which is the economic backbone of the community. Suppose that this plant employs 10,000 people, the bulk of the wage-earners of the town. These workers are reasonably efficient, and receive wages sufficient to enable them to maintain their families in a fair degree of comfort. Say that the average daily wage runs about $3.00. Into this town there comes some morning a group of 500 raw immigrants in charge of a labor importer. These foreigners are men not materially inferior in economic productiveness to the natives of the town. But they have previously lived in a country where the conditions of existence are so much inferior that their customary wage is the equivalent of only $1.50 of American money. To receive a wage of $2.00 a day would therefore enable them to raise their standard very decidedly, and they will snatch at the chance to work for such a wage. Immediately upon their arrival, the labor agent goes to the superintendent of the plant and offers him 500 laborers at $2.00 apiece. The superintendent looks them over, becomes convinced that they can do the work approximately as well as his present workers and agrees to take them on. He then calls in his foremen, and together they select the 500 least efficient of the $3.00 men, who are thereupon informed that they are to be discharged. Upon learning the reason, they protest that they have their homes and families in the town, they do not know where else to find employment, and rather than lose their jobs altogether they accept the wage offered to the foreigners. With a show of generosity, the superintendent offers to pay them $2.25 a day, and they go back to their places. In the meantime the group of foreigners are still available. Therefore the next most inefficient group of 500 employes is selected, and the process repeated, with the same result. So it goes on, until eventually every one of the 10,000 original workers has had his pay reduced by fifty or seventy-five cents. At the same time, not one of the immigrants has been employed, and in the evening the group departs to try its luck elsewhere.

It goes without saying that in the complicated life of the nation at large the process does not go on so simply and mechanically as this. But exactly this principle is at work, however much its operation may be masked by contributory forces. There can be no doubt that the competition of laborers habituated to a lower standard is the most pernicious and insidious force

which can attack the standard of living of the workers of a modern industrial democracy. It has been well stated that there is a Gresham's law in the industrial world, whereby the poorer labor drives out the better, and the lower standard eliminates the higher.

There can be no question that free immigration of foreign labor thoroughly undermines the standards of our common people. The process was already beginning to tell disastrously before the war, and would be immeasurably augmented if immigration should again go on unchecked, now that there will be so much added incentive for the tax-burdened natives of European countries to seek this land.

The worst of the whole matter is that there is no limit to the process. The drawing off of a sufficient number of laborers from such countries as India and China to destroy our own standard would produce no appreciable benefit in those countries, for the simple reason that it would not reduce the pressure of population there, and therefore could not raise their standard. A million immigrants a year perpetually could easily be drawn from China without decreasing its population in the least. The logical outcome of free immigration of workingmen under modern conditions of competitive bargaining for labor, as General Walker pointed out long ago, is the reduction of the standard of living of all countries to one dead level, and that the level of the originally most degraded and backward of them all.

It needs no argument to show that the United States is not called upon to sacrifice her standard for the sake of mere unreasoning sentimentality. She would be most recreant to her trust if she did so. Standards of living once lost can hardly be regained. It is our duty as a nation, our duty to humanity in the highest sense of the word, to protect our standard, in order that it may serve as a model and goal for the striving democracies in other lands, and that we ourselves may be in a position to help those democracies to climb somewhere near to the plane of their ideals.

The question of immigration after the war is often stated as the problem of whether we need to protect ourselves against the dumping of cripples and incompetents from foreign sources. The real question is, how we may protect ourselves from the able-bodied workers of less fortunate lands. Paradoxical as it may seem, we have much less to fear from the man who can

not earn his living than from the man who can. This is a rich country, and we could well afford to support for the rest of their lives thousands of the physical wrecks of war from England, France, Belgium, Italy, Greece, Russia and Serbia. It would be but a slight recognition of our debt to those countries who have paid so much dearer for the liberty of the world than we have if our military hospitals and cantonments were gradually transformed into homes for as many disabled victims as our Allies chose to send us (under proper government supervision to prevent abuse), while we taxed ourselves liberally for their life-long support and comfort. This would cost us nothing but money. But to permit the free transference of the labor from those countries to this under conditions which meant the disruption of our own standards would cost us our very life, and worst of all, would cost us our ability to be of real and permanent help to less fortunate lands.

The foregoing discussion rests upon the assumption that in general the present economic system will prevail,—private ownership of capital, competitive wage-bargaining, individual responsibility for family living conditions, etc. What might happen under conditions of socialism, or a world-wide minimum wage is merely matter for conjecture—except that it is hard to conceive of any minimum wage which would not speedily break down under conditions of free immigration.

## THE STRANGER WITHIN OUR GATES[1]

May I suggest that when America is receiving one million new aliens in a year, the part they will play in determining the American man and woman of the future is more properly stated in the ratio of one to one, than in the ratio of one to one hundred? We shall all pass. The Americans of tomorrow will be made up of the native-born babes of this year and of the incoming immigrants. Of perhaps the two and one-quarter millions of the American-born babes of this year there will be alive when that infant class is grown to twenty-one years, not more than thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand. The incoming million of aliens brings us eight hundred to eight hundred fifty

[1] By Walter E. Clark, President, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. Address before the N. E. A. at Salt Lake City, July 6, 1920. Published in the Journal of the National Education Association for February, 1921, p. 21-4.

thousand in the marriageable years between the ages of fourteen and forty-five and brings to us many already married. That incoming alien class of a million will not only sustain itself but, accounting the fruitfulness of immigrant stock, that million will grow to be represented twenty-one years from its receipt by probably fourteen or fifteen hundred thousand. When America is receiving one million new aliens in a year those new aliens are destined to play a well nigh or wholly equal part with the native born of the year in determining the American type after we shall have passed. For this reason alone the problem of the incoming immigrant is the most fundamental of the greater American problems.

There are those who would justify the receipt of even a million or a million and a half of new immigrants a year on the ground that the numerical strength of the nation is made greater and that greater numerical strength means greater martial power and more rapid industrial progress. Fair challenge may be made whether in the long run the incoming immigrants have materially increased the numerical strength of our Nation. Fair question may rather be raised whether we have not substituted new aliens by the hundred thousand, aye, by the million, for unborn native Americans! It will at least give us pause to consider the population facts since the birth of our Republic.

The first census in 1790 records an American population of roughly four millions; the fourth census of 1820 records an American population of almost ten millions. During that thirty years, when Europe was immersed in its French Revolution and its Napoleonic wars, immigration to America was well nigh negligible. Yet note that during this thirty years the American population increased more than 150 per cent. That is, our national population doubled, by native increase practically alone, in appreciably less than twenty-five years! Had this same ratio of native increase been maintained, started with ten millions in 1820, we should have numbered twenty millions in 1845, forty millions in 1870 and eighty millions in 1895. As a matter of census fact we had seventy-six millions in 1900. With margins to spare of five years in time and four millions in numbers, we would have had fully as large a population in 1900 without receiving an alien after 1820 as we did have with open doors to all the immigrant millions that came in the eighty years.

Even though the building of our cities with their rising

standards of living might appreciably have cut down the early ratio of native population increase, it would still have remained likely that our population in 1900 would have been at least sixty-five millions in place of seventy-six millions if we had not received an immigrant after 1820. That sixty-five millions would have been thoroughbred Americans schooled in the same disciplines, like minded, and the Nation would have been far readier to approximate democratic perfection than was our Nation in 1900, trammeled with its fourteen million of foreign born, its overflowing alien tenements, its millions of illiterates, its babel of tongues and its confusion of cultures.

The mere overwhelming mass of immigration into this land has imperiled the Republic and has retarded and to some extent has thwarted democratic solutions of American problems.

Aliens have not only come to us in huge and indigestible masses but they have on arrival congested themselves. Throughout the past generation, over eighty out of every hundred of our immigrants have located in the North Atlantic and North Central States. As a second degree of their congestion, more than three-quarters of this eighty out of every hundred have located in eight of our greatest industrial States. As a third degree of this congestion, these immigrants in the more congested States have thronged to the great industrial centers. In the fourth degree of their congestion, they have so crowded the tenement districts of these industrial cities as to make urban tenement life the plague spot of our day. Every phase of our democracy's struggle is made difficult by this persistent congestion of the new immigrants. Time permits but an illustration.

No city in the world's history has been more royal in its total expenditures for free public education than imperial New York. Great school building after school building has risen like magic throughout that city, each housing its thousands of children a year, yet for a score of years prior to the World War, New York City had chronically from forty to seventy thousand half-sittings in its schoolhouses. Build with what haste and liberality it might, it was quite impossible for it to catch up with the increasing stream of alien children.

I stood in Mulberry Street one day as the children thronged from the doors of one of the great city schools. As they ran to their play in the street I heard a group of well-grown boys begin to chatter Italian. I turned to a big blue-coated guardian

of the peace, stationed to protect the children from reckless drivers, and commented to him upon the fact that boys coming from an American schoolroom should begin to speak a foreign tongue the minute they reached the school yard. He was a free-born American, scornful of this language treason, and in the perfection of his own American speech said to me something like this:

"Dat's nuttin', young feller. I knows a girl wot graduated from this school three years ago and she can't speak a word of English today!" Caught in that great Italian city of half a million between Bleeker Street and Chinatown, the Bowery and Broadway, many a lass graduates from an American common school to drop back into almost total ignorance of the American tongue while living in the greatest of American cities! American city, did I say? If, when walking down Broadway, you were to meet a racially representative one hundred New Yorkers, you would meet forty who had been born on foreign soil and eighty-three who had either been born on foreign soil or whose fathers and mothers were born abroad. Only *seventeen* out of every one hundred in that which we call our greatest American city are real Americans even in the limited sense that only one generation back of them is American born.

Granting that the most promising factor in the development of a real American culture is our public school, with its great army of self-sacrificing teachers, what chance has even this great school system in our industrial cities so congested with recent aliens that it is difficult for the school children to acquire American speech?

Just as this mere massing of the huge numbers of our recent alien incomers in our great industrial centers greatly increases the difficulties of our great school system, so all the problems of housing, of sanitation, of city health, of defectives and delinquents, the whole range of the modern urban social problems, are terribly complicated by the fact that our greater American industrial cities are not great *American* cities but rather are confused groupings of alien masses.

Nor can we solve this difficulty of alien congestion by waving the hand in terms of some bettered process of distribution. The aliens are unwilling to be distributed. They come oftentimes from country and village life in the Old World, eager to get

into the great city. They come, insisting upon getting where their native tongue is understood, their native festivals are celebrated, their customary shrines are open, where they find sympathizing and understanding alien friends to help them in times of difficulty. They come by deliberate choice where their friends and relatives are further congesting the congestion. On the other hand, the recent alien is not wanted by the American employer, whose wails for labor are cited by the enthusiastic distributionist. The great farms of the Middle West and Northwest are calling for more tenants and for more farm laborers, but the call is for those who understand American methods of farming, who can understand orders when given in English, who can be trusted to do errands in marketing, who are experienced farm helpers.

The massing of the aliens during the past generation has imperiled the Republic. The mere 'alienness' of the incomers is a third great factor of difficulty. Back of the seventies of the nineteenth century, nearly all of our immigrants came from northwestern Europe, with civilization closely akin to our own, with high degrees of literacy, many of them speaking our own tongue. Since the seventies our immigration has increasingly come from southern and eastern Europe, utterly alien in history, tradition, culture, and tongue.

In 1870 only one incoming immigrant out of a hundred came from Russia, Austro-Hungary, and Italy. In that ten-million-immigrant decade from 1905 to 1914 nearly seventy immigrants out of every hundred came from Russia, Austro-Hungary, and Italy. This shift in geographic source, multiplied into the increasing number of comers, has massed an 'alienness' which checks our democratic progress at every step.

For one illustration only of the dire danger to the Republic through this 'alienness' of the immigrant masses, note the growing spirit of exploitation in our land. An undoubted factor in the wretched development of this spirit is the fact that the recent immigrants are so totally different from the older line Americans that they are in danger of being dealt with as though they were strange animals. Pungent illustration of this exploitative spirit may be cited in the case of that dreadful mine disaster, costing many human lives, where the first question of the mine superintendent was, "Are the mules saved!" It would cost

money to replace the *mules,* but the shattered humans could be quickly replaced without cost from the clamoring line of new immigrants at the gate! For another illustration consider a conversation. When labor leader Healey was standing with a mine overseer and watching the 'Hunkies' clambering into the cage, the overseer said, "Look at 'em! Don't you see they're just cattle? Just common, ordinary cattle?" Healey replied, "Oh, no, they're humans, just as you and I." "No, I say they're cattle. You got to put a ring in their nose and lead 'em around on their job." "Well," said Mr. Healey, "why don't you employ Americans?" "They won't work." "Oh, yes, they will," responded Mr. Healey, "but they won't work at your wages and under your conditions."

The *cattle* concept of human beings within the bounds of this Republic imperils the Republic. It is breathing hot and cold in the same breath to proclaim belief in democracy and to insist that in the name of more rapid industrial commercial growth America must continue to have an incoming million of ignorant, cheap-labor aliens to exploit each year.

The mere 'alienness' of the congesting huge masses of recent immigrants imperils the Republic.

As I have outlined this brief, it may seem a selfish one. May I make three closing suggestions in terms of world rather than national ends?

First, it is in question whether permission for tens of thousands to come from some congested European nation in any wise really lessens the congestion in that nation. For a generation the little boot-state of Italy, cradle of the world, has sent out half a million of its citizens a year to permanent residence elsewhere, and yet, during this same generation, the population of Italy has steadily risen.

Second, I sometimes wonder whether the Old World nations, whose citizens flee by thousands to this Republic on the ground that they find Old World life relatively unendurable, would not much more readily develop endurable conditions for their home peoples if their more sensitive citizenry did not find so easy and so alluring asylum in this New World. In the concrete, I cannot help wondering whether in 1904 and 1905 great Russia might not have achieved a stable constitutional monarchy if those in almost permanently successful rebellion against the more despotic government had been aided by the brain and brawn of the hun-

dreds of thousands of discontented spirits who in the preceding quarter of a century had fled their Russian discontent and sought easy asylum here. Had these discontented hundreds of thousands been denied asylum here, had they remained in increasing discontent in their own land, their added strength might have made possible full transition in 1905 to a permanent constitutional monarchy. This would have meant bettered life for all Russia's one hundred eighty millions and might easily have changed the whole course of the world's history since that date in a way that would have saved human suffering and advanced human happiness in an amount vastly greater than the added betterment of the individual lives of those hundreds of thousands of Russian immigrants who were received into our Republic.

The third and final suggestion is that the closing of America's doors to alien immigrants is not necessarily a closing of world asylum. Rather it is narrowing the range of the asylum. The great South American lands, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil, are today in the stage of development in which our land was in the fifties and sixties of the last century. These lands desire immigrants and are offering special inducements to them. There are, therefore, other desirable, wide and real asylums for those who still would flee their Old World discontents.

Wholly to prohibit incoming alien laborers will not solve any of our greater American democratic problems, but it will greatly simplify the solution of every one of these problems. It will not insure the attainment of a supreme American type, but it will remove an otherwise perennial stumbling-block in the way of progress towards that great goal of the Nation. With more than a hundred millions of people already within the Republic, with tens of thousands of its best farmers overflowing into a neighboring commonwealth because our richer public lands are now all taken, with a potential army of fifteen millions to protect the Republic against any possible foreign invasion, with our rich natural resources all in full process of exploitation, our Republic has reached the time and the conditions when and under which it is wisdom to close the door against further alien incomers, at least for long enough time that we may again locate the fixed stars in Democracy's heaven and regain and maintain the direct democratic course for our Ship of State!

## IMMIGRATION AND THE WORLD WAR [1]

The World War verified at least two things about immigration which had been previously asserted by experts, but doubted or ignored by the public. The latter knows very little about anthropology or the history of various past migrations; and its opinions are largely influenced by its local experience and by the articles and news items in the newspapers, most of which are inspired by various interests, and which give usually a narrow and immediate rather than a long range point of view.

The first point proved by the war was that the immigration of a million aliens a year is not necessary to sustain the industries of this country. During the war, there was practically no immigration, and at the same time millions of men were taken out of industry for the army and navy. It is true that production in many lines was curtailed; but in many others it was vastly extended. It is also true that to attract workers to the expanding trades money wages, and in some cases real wages, were sharply advanced. But, in the long run, high wages are a good thing for a country if a fair day's work is given for them. If there had been a great general shortage of labor as a result of the war there would not even now be requests to the Division of Distribution of the Bureau of Immigration to stop sending aliens into various localities. Undoubtedly there was, for a time, a shortage of workers in certain places and certain industries. The newspaper reports of this were, however, undoubtedly exaggerated. We must remember that the ideal condition, from the point of view of some employers of cheap labor, is to have two men waiting for every job, in order to keep down wages. Such a condition results in an immense amount of unemployment and misery, and shows that labor which is economically cheap for the employer is seldom socially cheap for the community.

The second point demonstrated by the war, and the most important one, was in regard to assimilation. A great deal of nonsense had been preached and swallowed whole by the people, to the effect that environment is all important and heredity of little account, in considering the effects of immigration. That falsest of all shibboleths "the melting-pot" had hypnotized statesmen

[1] By Prescott F. Hall, Secretary, Executive Committee, Immigration Restriction League, Boston. Annals of the American Academy. 93:190-3. January, 1921.

and legislators. That inversion of Darwin's real teaching, which pronounced that survival indicated fitness for things other than mere survival, had permeated the public mind and made it careless of current changes and of the future.

Down to 1860, as Eliot Norton pointed out in THE ANNALS[1], the United States had begun to develop a definite national character based on well-known Nordic traits. The colonial population had consisted of picked specimens of Nordic races. The Irish immigration of 1846 contributed further Nordic strains; and, what is important to observe, the German emigration of 1848 was also Nordic, whereas the more recent German immigrants are largely Alpine. Things having gone so well down to 1860, the policy of the "open door" became fixed, in spite of the warnings of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Madison and Franklin as to the danger of unguarded gates.

From 1860 and especially after 1880, the whole situation changed. In 1914, nearly three-quarters of all alien immigrants were Alpine, Mediterranean or Asiatic and only one-quarter Nordic. In other words, 863 thousand of those coming in that year were from races with a different historic background, different customs and different ideals. This change had been proceeding with increasing intensity for forty years.

Now the temperamental optimist, the social worker and the average citizen had insisted that in the new environment of America the alien rapidly changed into a "good American." When the evidence did not entirely bear this out, some said that although the alien might be assimilating us instead of our assimilating him, nevertheless this was a good thing, and that the mixture of conflicting types was a benefit.

The World War completely knocked out these cheerful conclusions by revealing that the superficial changes constituting "Americanization" were entirely inadequate to affect the hereditary tendencies of generations; and that a mixture of conflicting types and opinions seriously affected the capacity of the nation to think and to act as a unit.

Take first the hostile attitude of many of the immigrants from the Central Powers. Probably a large majority of those of German descent, especially of those descended from Germans coming before 1870, were loyal. But the term "German" as used in statistical publications is quite ambiguous. Dr. W. S.

[1] Vol. 24, p. 163 (July, 1904).

Sadler has pointed out that in 1600 Germany was almost entirely Nordic. Then, owing to the Thirty Years' War and other wars, the Nordic element was largely killed off and its place taken by Slavic Alpines, so that in 1914, Germany was 90 per cent Alpine and 10 per cent Nordic. This, in his opinion, accounts largely for the fact that the World War was fought on the German side so much more lawlessly and cruelly than was the War of 1870. The characteristics of the Nordic race are individual initiative, love of personal liberty, and a certain chivalry and sportsmanship. The Alpine and Mediterranean races on the other hand tend to centralization of authority, reliance upon the state, and in war to subservience and absence of moral quality. Another element, the Semitic, is largely international or racial in its interests.

The resistance to the draft law, whether from cowardice, indifference or conscientious objection revealed the difference in attitude between the earlier and the later immigration, and this again showed that apparent "Americanization" was built in many cases upon quicksand. The unanimous opinion of American and French observers was to the effect that those American regiments composed chiefly of Nordic stock or led by Nordic officers were by far the most valuable.

It is estimated that at the present time from 40 to 55 per cent of our population are still Nordic. It is also stated that at least ten million aliens of non-Nordic races are anxious to come here at once. If this should be kept up for the next twenty years, it is easy to see that anywhere from twenty to forty millions or more of non-Nordic races might come, utterly changing the balance of race-stocks in this country. And, as everything depends upon the people who are here to do things, especially under universal suffrage, this would mean at the worst a profound change in our institutions and ideals, and at the best an ineffectiveness born of the mixture of diverse elements.

And still we do not learn the lesson. We forget that Egypt, Greece and Rome, as well as Chaldea, Phoenicia and Carthage, perished from the peaceful invasion of alien races. Still we are led away from facing matters squarely by the red herrings of distribution of aliens and "Americanization." Neither distribution nor Americanization is possible while one or two millions of alien types are being poured into the country. I do not say that the aims and efforts of those engaged in the Americaniza-

tion movement are wrong, but I maintain that the energy of many good men and a vast amount of money are being diverted from the only path by which success can be attained. I have no doubt also that they are encouraged by those who wish immigration left practically unrestricted. It has always been so in the past. Any important change in habits of thought and racial tendencies requires at least several generations. As I have said elsewhere, "you can not make bad stock into good by changing its meridian, any more than you can turn a cart horse into a hunter by putting it into a fine stable, or make a mongrel into a fine dog by teaching it tricks." We must get away from the one-dimension, sentimental point of view that all men and all races are potentially equal, and from the two-dimensional economic view which considers man as merely a producing and a consuming animal, and face the truths of history and anthropology.

How much has "Americanization" changed the revolutionary communists in our large cities? How many more agitators are being allowed to come in today to make trouble in the future? They can not be detected by ordinary methods of inspection.

While immigration was at a low ebb and patriotic fervor was at its height during the war, there was a splendid chance to pass a stringent immigration law, even over a probable veto. We did nothing as usual. It took twenty six years to get the reading test into the law, although it is the most valuable restrictive clause we have. We are dallying with our future safety just at the time when, as Lothrop Stoddard so clearly shows, there is a probability that the brown and yellow races of Asia will soon resume that western movement which was checked for a time by Charlemagne. Bolshevism is essentially such a movement of oriental Tartar tribes led by Asiatic Semites against Nordic *bourgeoisie*. Japan is arming. Before the war she was poor; now she is rich. The next big war may be in the Pacific. To prepare for that, indeed merely to maintain our present development, we need to become and to remain a strong, self-reliant, united country, with the only unity that counts, viz., that of race.

What, then, shall we do? Exclude the black, the brown and the yellow altogether; as to the white, favor the immigration of Nordic and Nordicized stocks. This will best be attained by limiting immigration from any country annually to a certain per cent of those from that country already naturalized here.

Naturalization, when not artificially fostered, is one of the best tests of assimilability, and experience shows that it is the Nordic races that become naturalized. The effect in a year like 1914 under a 50 per cent limitation, would have been as follows:

| | *Actually admitted* | *Admissible under bill* |
|---|---|---|
| Northern and Western Europe ..... | 189,177 | 1,090,500 |
| Southern and Eastern Europe ..... | 945,288 | 279,288 |

In other words, the total European immigration would have been reduced 47 per cent by reducing that from southern and eastern Europe 71 per cent.

Some such measures as these are essential to the perpetuation of what the United States stands for, not only within its boundaries, but to the world at large.

## OUR EXPENSIVE CHEAP LABOR [1]

A new aspect of the immigration problem is opened by some remarkable facts that recent industrial investigations have brought to light. These investigations seem to prove two startling propositions:

(1) That the immigrants who now come to this country in the largest numbers are not being assimilated but are being "lumped" in undigested foreign quarters at the great centres of industry.

(2) That "cheap foreign labor" is not cheap, even to the manufacturers who have eagerly encouraged the importation of unskilled foreigners to do the "muckers" work. This class of eastern European peasant lacks the intelligence and initiative either to avoid the ordinary dangers of rough labor or to keep in efficient health; and their employers have to pay the bills for teaching them.

Of forty cases of leadpoisoning found in the lead mills of New York City last year by the partial survey of the Factory Investigating Commission, the disease had in thirty-eight cases attacked men of foreign birth. Of these, twenty-nine were immigrants from eastern Europe. Considering the large recent

[1] By Arno Dosch. World's Work. 26:699-703. October, 1913.

Slavish immigration, this may not at first glance seem remarkable, but it takes on its real significance when it is understood that half the employees of the mills are of American birth and have worked in the lead industries for years. Among them occurred only one-twentieth of the cases of lead-poisoning. The explanation for this disparity is significant. The Americans know how to take care of themselves. Most important of all, they wash their hands and faces when they stop work. The immigrants from eastern Europe do not, unless some one stands over them and makes them do it.

As the dangerous trades in this country are rapidly falling into the hands of immigrants of this type, it is easy to see why industrial poisoning, and industrial disease in general, presents a pressing national problem. The victims are chiefly among the most ignorant and helpless people. The danger is there for the others, but they usually have sufficient initiative to escape it.

Take lead-poisoning, which we hear most about. Twenty years ago in the lead mills the work was far more dangerous than it is today, but the amount of lead-poisoning was apparently less. This was because, so the old lead workers say, the class of men formerly employed understood the danger and took precautions to escape it. These men were western Europeans or Americans. Negroes also did much of the dangerous work in some of the old mills and were looked upon as practically immune because they could see the white poisonous flecks on their dark skins and wash them off.

I have cited the case of lead-poisoning because it is the least complicated of industrial diseases. It finds its victims among otherwise healthy men in the prime of life. But the same racial disparity holds true in all the dangerous trades. Those who are the worst sufferers from all industrial diseases in this country are immigrants from eastern Europe. If it were not for the difficulty of making them look out for themselves, industrial disease would be very much easier to handle.

This gives the problem a new angle from which it has not previously been considered. It shows that, without letting up in the fight for better preventive measures, the immigration aspect must not be neglected.

A million of these people are entering the United States every year to be mistreated and exploited, to become helpless victims of industrial accident and industrial disease. If they

come through their experience and develop into American citizens it is through no effort of their own, but through the enlightened self-interest of their employers. Comparatively few of these people ever get more than a glimmering of American ideals. It is almost too much to expect that they should. Their children are quick to learn, but they, children themselves, are slow to rise. The fact that they are in this country means nothing in itself. A Slav village in northern Michigan can be just as benighted as it was in Roumania. Its people have to be made to eat right and sleep right. Mothers must be taught the simplest measures for protecting the health of their babies. Grown men have to be forced to wash their hands to prevent them from poisoning themselves.

Welfare work of this kind can be done, and is being done. But it cannot be done for half a million of these people a year. The task is too great. The result is that the American people are not absorbing these immigrants from eastern Europe. To borrow a figure from cookery, they are lumping. They have lumped in the mines, in the steel mills, in all the dangerous trades. And the lumps grow larger by half a million a year. Whole sections of the United States have become essentially foreign. The melting-pot is not assimilating the raw material that is being dumped into it.

In these unassimilated lumps the individuals are forever shifting, though the lumps remain hopelessly un-American. Dr. Alice Hamilton, who surveyed the lead industries for the Illinois Commission on Occupational Diseases, found that from 10 to 40 per cent changed their employers every pay-day. Usually they went to other mills for similar or equally dangerous work. One lead mill with a pay-roll of eighty had had 500 men in its employ during the year. There was no knowing how many of these men became lead-poisoned. There was hardly an opportunity to teach them care. Many of them went from one lead mill to another and became "leaded" before any symptoms were discovered.

It frequently happens in the lead industries that one of these men who has been discharged for his own good because he has shown early symptoms of lead poisoning has gone on to the next mill without explaining why he was discharged from the last one, and, when discovered there to be a lead victim, has sought employment at the third or fourth mill until hopelessly poisoned. To discharge a man when lead-poisoning begins to

show on him may not be the right way to meet the difficulty, but it is at least better than to keep him at work that will soon paralyze him. He accepts his fate with animal-like resignation, ignores the warnings of the company's doctor, and heads straight for the next lead mill. He does it because he does not know what else to do. There is no advantage in either blaming or pitying him. He belongs to one of the great unassimilated lumps in American life.

The work of philanthropic surveys, examinations into the condition of workmen by large corporations, and, particularly, the spread of welfare work has shown the urgent necessity for dissolving these lumps before they get any larger. It means restriction of immigration down to the point where it will not lump. Two forces oppose this—large employers of common labor and all those who, believing that liberty should be denied none, offer strong sentimental objections to restriction in any form. But the country as a whole is waking to the fact that immigrants from eastern Europe and southern Europe must for their own protection be admitted into this country in smaller numbers.

The chief difficulty in the way of restricting immigration lies in the need for common labor. The United States Steel Corporation could have used last year 10,000 more Slavonians than it was able to get. Every other big mining and milling concern is in the same predicament. But, from the national point of view, it is better that they should be. They are devoting their energies toward the production of raw material, much of which is shipped out of the country raw or in only the first stages of manufacture. The less raw material leaving the country the better. Common labor is used almost exclusively to handle it, so the less common labor the better we are off as a nation. Compare the industrial condition of the United States with that of Germany. The exports that leave our ports show only one-fourth the skill and workmanship and consequent value of the exports that leave Germany. In Germany common labor is becoming steadily scarcer. In ten years, it is said, there will be not an untrained man in the German Empire. This is practically true today of Bavaria. Common labor is much less of a necessity than it is supposed to be. But it has always been plentiful in this country, so industry has come to count on it. But it could get along better with less. Scarcity of labor inevitably necessitates the use of labor-saving devices.

If common labor had not been so plentiful occupational disease would never have become so serious a problem. In the first place, when men are scarce employers take care not to lose any, but, more important still, machinery is then substituted for men in the dangerous trades. The lead industry has given an example of this. It began, for reasons of economy, substituting enclosed machinery for the dangerous work of separating white lead from the scraps of metallic lead which had failed to corrode. This proved such a saving both in labor and material that in the best mills entirely enclosed machinery handles the lead in all the formerly dangerous transitions from the drying pans to the lead-in-oil paste. This has done away with more labor susceptible to industrial disease. The latest labor-saving device is a crane which has eliminated the dusty wheel-barrows that counted their victims by the hundreds. This has also proved such an economy that the lead companies are experimenting with mechanical means for stripping the beds where the white lead is formed. Portable exhausts are in use in some lead mills, but the whole operation is still dangerous and clumsy. When that problem is solved, lead will be produced much more cheaply, lead mills will be perfectly safe, and the amount of common labor will be cut at least in two. The devices already in use by the National Lead Company have in the last ten years cut down the necessary common labor by 25 per cent.

At least an equal saving could be made in industry as a whole by labor-saving devices now in existence. But so long as men can be had to do the work as cheaply as machinery there is no incentive to make the investment. If immigration were checked sufficiently to make common labor less available, this incentive would then bring about so rapid a substitution of labor-saving machinery that the demand for common labor would fall off and, in its place, there would arise a greater demand for skilled labor.

## ALIENS LEAVING OUR SHORES IN LARGE NUMBERS[1]

The situation has led a writer in the New York *Times* to point to one element in the situation "which is perhaps the most important of all, but it receives little or no consideration." This

[1] Literary Digest. 62:96+. July 26, 1919.

is the problem, "What would have happened if, during the century and a half of our national life, we had received no immigration?" The writer points to a school of economists who have reasoned from a "biological axiom" that as the rate of increase in population is determined solely by the supply of fertile land and food, therefore the twenty millions who have come to our shores "have prevented the birth of twenty millions of native-born Americans." Along this line the *Times* writer proceeds to say:

"In Colonial American families the birth-rate had been small before leaving Great Britain, but increased amazingly on American soil, all during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1751, when our population was about one million, Benjamin Franklin said that the immigrants who had produced this number were generally believed to have numbered less than eighty thousand—a gain of over twelve-fold in little more than a century. In some parts of the Colonies the people, without the aid of immigration, doubled in twenty-five years, and there were localities in which they doubled in less than twenty years. Up to 1820, the entire population of New England and of the regions settled from New England came from immigrants who numbered not over twenty thousand. These mainly arrived between 1620 and 1640, the immigration from 1640 to 1820 being virtually nil. Many writers, including Sydney G. Fisher, Edward Jarvis, and Gen. Francis Walker, have said that the subsequent checking in native growth came as a result of the great wave of immigration which began in 1820. If it had not been for this, they say, our total population, exclusively derived from the elder stock, would now be as great as, or even greater than, it is.

"This would have meant, of course, that our railways would have been built and our factories manned by American laborers. A doubt is permissible, in spite of the 'biological axiom,' whether they would have been forth-coming in sufficient numbers to accomplish the result we have to-day. A rise in the standards of living, to say nothing of increasing luxury, such as became inevitable with the development of the continent, would probably have acted as a check on the birth-rate. But the slowing down of our development might not have been an unmixed calamity. What we lost in the sum total of wealth we should probably have gained in a more equitable distribution of what we had—fewer swollen fortunes and less poverty.

"One result of recruiting our population from foreign peoples

has been peculiarly unfortunate. For an English-speaking American to accept certain forms of hand-labor is to fall quite out of his natural sphere. Any form of brain-work, however humble or ill-paid, appears to be preferable. We have thus vast numbers of middle-class Americans living on salaries actually less than the wages of foreign hand-laborers. And among these middle-class people the birth-rate is alarmingly small. Above all, the unregulated influx of foreigners, ignorant of our ways, has brought a loss in the vigor and integrity of our native institutions. Bolshevism and socialism also very largely are the product of the people who have been welcomed by captains of industry intent on immediate material results.

"Our lofty sentiments and our materialism are alike wounded by the proposal to limit immigration by means of selective tests. But if the result is to convince our middle-class respectables of the dignity and worth of hand-labor and at the same time to guard the integrity of our free institutions, there will be a compensation."

## IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION AND WORLD EUGENICS [1]

There is one aspect of immigration restriction in the various countries which does not often receive much attention, namely, the possibility of its use as a method of world eugenics. Most persons think of migration in terms of space,—as the moving of a certain number of people from one part of the earth's surface to another. Whereas the much more important aspect of it is that of a functioning in time.

This comes from two facts. The first is that the vacuum left in any country by emigration is rapidly filled up through a rise in the birth rate. There are more people in England to-day than in the time of Elizabeth, in spite of the enormous emigration from that country to all parts of the world; and there are just as many sparrows in England to-day, in spite of the unfortunate spread of those birds in the United States. The vacuum is chiefly filled by the breeding of the lower classes. Thus, according to Professor Pearson, more than one-half the births in England are

[1] By Prescott F. Hall, Secretary, Executive Committee, Immigration Restriction League, Boston. Journal of Heredity (Organ of the American Genetic Association), Vol. X, No. 3, Washington, D. C., March, 1919.

now from the lowest one-sixth of the population. In Italy, a similar condition fills the vacuum left by the very large emigration from there to North and South America.

The second fact is that immigration to any country of a given stratum of population tends to sterilize all strata of higher social and economic levels already in that country. So true is this that nearly all students of the matter are agreed that the United States would have a larger population to-day if there had been no immigration since 1820, and, it is needless to add, a much more homogeneous population. As long as the people of any community are relatively homogeneous, what differences of wealth and social position there may be do not affect the birth rate, or do so only after a considerable time. But put into that community a number of immigrants, inferior mentally, socially, and economically, and the natives are unwilling to have their children associate with them in work or social life. They then limit the number of their children in order to give them the capital or education to enter occupations in which they will not be brought into contact with the new arrivals. This result is quite apparent in New England, where successive waves of immigration from lower and lower levels have been coming in for eighty years. In the West, the same New England stock has a much higher birth rate, showing that its fertility has in no way diminished. In the South, where until very recently there was no immigration at all, and the only socially inferior race was clearly separated by the accident of color, the birth rate has remained very high, and the very large families of the colonial period are even now not uncommon.

This is not to say that other causes do not contribute to lower the birth rate of a country, for that is an almost world-wide phenomenon. But the desire to be separated from inferiors is as strong a motive to birth control as the desire for luxury or to ape one's economic superiors. . . . Further, in addition to the purely biological aspects of the matter, there are certain psychological ones. Although a cosmopolitan atmosphere furnishes a certain freedom in which strong congenital talents can develop, it is a question whether as many are not injured as helped by this. Indeed, there is considerable evidence to show that for the production of great men, a certain homogeneity of environment is necessary. The reason of this is very simple. In a homogeneous community, opinions on a large number of

matters are fixed. The individual does not have to attend to such things, but is free to go ahead on some special line of his own, to concentrate to his limit on his work, even though that work be fighting the common opinions. But in a community of many races, there is either cross-breeding or there is not. If there is, the children of such cross-breeding are liable to inherit two souls, two temperaments, two sets of opinions, with the result in many cases that they are unable to think or act strongly and consistently in any direction. The classic examples are Cuba, Mexico and Brazil. On the other hand, if there is no cross-breeding, the diversity exists in the original races, and in a community full of diverse ideals of all kinds much of the energy of the higher type of man is dissipated, and in two ways. First, in the intellectual field there is much more doubt about everything, and he tends to weigh, discuss and agitate many more subjects, in order to arrive at a conclusion amid the opposing views. Second, in practical affairs, much time and strength have to be devoted to keeping things going along the old lines, which could have been spent in new research and development. In how many of our large cities to-day are men of the highest type spending their whole time fighting, often in vain, to maintain standards of honesty, decency, and order, and in trying to compose the various ethnic elements, who should be free to build new structures upon the old!

## IMMIGRANTS IN POLITICS [1]

It is in the cities with many naturalized foreigners or enfranchised negroes that the vice interests have had the freest hand in exploiting and degrading the people. These foreigners have no love for vice, but unwittingly they become the cornerstone of the system that supports it. The city that has had the most and the rawest foreign-born voters is the city of the longest and closest partnership of the police with vice. Tammany Hall first gained power by its "voting gangs" of foreigners, and ever since its old guard has been the ignorant, naturalized immigrants. Exposed again and again, and thought to be shattered, Tammany has survived all shocks, because its supply of raw material

[1] By Edward A. Ross, Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin. Century. 87:392-8. January, 1914.

has never been cut off. Not the loss of its friends has ever defeated it; only the union of its foes. The only things it fears are those that bore from within—social settlements, social centers, the quick intelligence of the immigrant Hebrew, stricter naturalization, and restriction of immigration.

In every American city with a large, pliant foreign vote have appeared the boss, the machine, and the Tammany way. Once the machine gets a grip on the situation, it broadens and intrenches its power by intimidation at the polls, ballot frauds, vote purchase, saloon influence, and the support of the vicious and criminal. But its tap-root is the simple-minded foreigner or negro, and without them no lasting vicious political control has shown itself in any of our cities.

The machine in power uses the foreigner to keep in power. The Italian who opens an ice-cream parlor has to have a victualer's license, and he can keep this license only by delivering Italian votes. The Polish saloon-keeper loses his liquor license if he fails to line up his fellow-countrymen for the local machine. The politician who can get dispensations for the foreigners who want their beer on a Sunday picnic is the man who attracts the foreign vote. Thus, until they get their eyes open and see how they are being used, the foreigners constitute an asset of the established political machine, neutralizing the anti-machine ballots of an equal number of indignant American voters.

The foreign press is another means of misleading the naturalized voters. These newspapers—Polish, Bohemian, Italian, Greek, Yiddish, etc.,—while they have no small influence with their readers, are poorly supported, and often in financial straits. Many of them, therefore, can be tempted to sell their political influence to the highest bidder, which is, of course, the party representing the special interests. Thus the innocent foreign-born readers are led like sheep to the shambles, and privilege gains another intrenching-tool.

If the immigrant is neither debauched nor misled, but votes his opinions, is he then an element of strength to us?

When a people has reached such a degree of political like-mindedness that fundamentals are taken for granted, it is free to tackle new questions as they come up. But if it admits to citizenship myriads of strangers who have not yet passed the civic kindergarten, questions that were supposed to be settled are reopened. The citizens are made to thresh over again old

straws—the relation of church to state, of church to school, of state to parent, of law to the liquor trade. Meanwhile, ripe sheaves ready to yield the wheat of wisdom under the flails of discussion lie untouched. Pressing questions—public hygiene, conservation, the control of monopoly, the protection of labor, go to the foot of the docket, and public interests suffer.

Some are quite cheerful about the confusion, cross-purposes, and delay that come with heterogeneity, because they think the variety of views introduced by immigration is a fine thing, "keeps us from getting into a rut." The plain truth is, that rarely does an immigrant bring in his intellectual baggage anything of use to us. The music of Mascagni and Debussy, the plays of Ibsen and Maeterlinck, the poetry of Rostand and Hauptmann, the fiction of Jókai and Sienkiewicz were not brought to us by way of Ellis Island. What we want is not ideas merely, but fruitful ideas, fructifying ideas. By debating the ideas of Nietzsche, Ostwald, Bergson, Metchnikoff or Ellen Key, American thought is stimulated. But should we gain from the introduction of old Asiatic points of view, which would reopen such questions as witchcraft, child-marriage, and suttee? The clashings that arise from the presence among us of many voters with medieval minds are sheer waste of energy. While we Americans wrangle over the old issues of clericalism, separate schools, and "personal liberty," the little homogeneous peoples are forging ahead of us in rational politics and learning to look pityingly upon us as a chaos rather than a people.

If you should ask an Englishman whether the tone of political life in his country would remain unaffected by the admission to the electorate of a couple of million Cypriotes, Vlachs, and Bessarabians after five years' residence, he would take you for a madman. Suggest to the German that the plane of political intelligence in reading and thinking Germany would not be lowered by the access to the ballot-box of multitudes of Serbs, Georgians, and Druses of Lebanon, and he will consign you to bedlam. Assure the son of Norway that the vote of the Persian or Yemenite, of sixty months' residence in Norway, will be as often wise and right as his own, and he will be insulted. It is only we Americans who assume that the voting of the middle Atlantic states, with their million naturalized citizens, or of the east north central states with their million, is as sane, discriminating, and forward-looking as it would be without them.

The Italian historian and sociologist Ferrero, after reviewing our immigration policy, concludes that the Americans, far from being "practical," are really the mystics of the modern world. He says: "To confer citizenship each year upon great numbers of men born and educated in foreign countries—men who come with ideas, and sympathies totally out of spirit with the diverse conditions in the new country; to grant them political rights they do not want, and of which they have never thought; to compel them to declare allegiance to a political constitution which they often do not understand; to try to transform subjects of old European monarchies into free citizens of young American republics over night—is not all this to do violence to common sense?"

## AGRICULTURAL DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS [1]

Many of the evils resulting from the enormous immigration of aliens into this country during recent years have been much aggravated by the congestion of these aliens in the slums of our large northern cities. For this reason, most of those who have studied the immigration problem seriously have come to the conclusion that if these immigrants could be removed from the slums and distributed over the agricultural districts of the west and south, all the difficulties which are now met with in educating and Americanizing these foreigners could easily be disposed of. The vastness of the problem of the city slum, and the impossibility, even with unlimited resources of men and money, of permanently raising the standards of living of many of our immigrants as long as they are crowded together, and as long as the stream of newer immigrants pours into these same slums, has naturally forced itself upon the minds of thinking persons. This note was struck in the last annual report of the Boston Associated Charities in the following words: "With an immigration as unrestrained as at present, we can have little hope of permanent gain in the struggle for uplifting the poor of our cities, since newcomers are always at hand, ignorant of American standards." And in a recent study of the Chicago

[1] By Robert DeC. Ward, Professor of Climatology, Harvard University. Popular Science Monthly. 66:166-75. December, 1904.

stock yard strike, in which the miserable conditions are described under which the newer immigrants employed in the yards live, we learn that "from the poorest parts of Bohemia, Poland, Lithuania, and Slavonia, these immigrants have poured in great overlapping waves into the stock yards. The standard of living of each wave rises slowly, *constantly sucked down by the lower standards of the waves behind.*"[1]

The only remedies for such conditions are: a considerable restriction of immigration, *and* (not *or*) the distribution of the slum population through the agricultural districts of the country. Although Congress has repeatedly been asked, in the strongest terms, by very influential bodies of citizens all over the country, to enact further restrictive legislation, no laws at all adequate to meet the situation have been put upon the statute books. The powerful influences of railroad and steamship companies, and of large employers who want "cheap" labor, have been able to turn the scale against what the majority of Americans without question believe to be the best for the country. The first of the two remedies above referred to not having been secured, there has been a decided swing of opinion in favor of the second. Any one who reads over recent literature on immigration will find constant reference to the "solution of the immigration problem by the agricultural distribution of our immigrants." That charity workers should have been so long finding out this (supposedly) excellent and effective remedy, which is lauded as if it alone were to be the panacea for all the ills resulting from immigration, is much more surprising than that the steamship and railroad interests of this country should be doing their utmost to "boom" it as *the one* solution of the immigration problem, always carefully concealing their own interest in the matter, which is to increase their receipts through the transportation of all these thousands of immigrants, to secure cheaper labor, *and to turn public attention away from the need of further restrictive legislation.* The advocacy of the distribution plan by those having affiliations with transportation interests, or with enterprises which desire "cheap" labor, especially in the less thickly settled parts of our country, will bear careful watching.

The relief which a distribution of the inhabitants of our city slums seems sure to bring to the charity workers and the philanthropists of our large northern cities, and the fact that such

[1] The italics are the present writer's.

distribution is also being systematically, though not openly, advocated by powerful transportation and capitalistic interests, have caused this new idea to be welcomed with great enthusiasm, the selfish and unselfish interests working along the same lines, as is seldom the case in immigration matters. In all this enthusiasm for the new remedy it is natural that there is danger of going too fast and too far; there is a likelihood that we are urging distribution from our congested districts without caring sufficiently where the people whom we are anxious to get off our hands go to; whether the removal will accomplish as much as is expected of it; whether the people among whom these foreigners are scattered really want them; whether removal on a wholesale scale will not develop new agricultural colonies of aliens in which some of the evils of the slums will be reproduced anew; whether the effects of such dispersion on the communities among which the new settlers are located will be for the best of those communities in the long run; whether—and this is perhaps the most important point of all—wholesale distribution will really relieve the city's burden.

## PROPOSED IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION[1]

It has been urged against this legislation that there will be no emigration from the war-stricken countries for several years on account of the need of workers there. If that be true, this bill can certainly do no harm.

But is it true?

Let that question be answered as to one country at least by a high Italian official. A few weeks ago a delegation from the Italian labor union came to this country from Italy. At the head of this delegation was Mr. Alceste De Ambris, a member of the Italian House of Deputies. In the December number of Italy To-day, a publication gotten out in New York by the Italian Bureau of Public Information in the United States, Mr De Ambris is quoted on page 50, as follows:

"Emigration of Italian labor after the war will be a necessity, and part of the function of the delegation is to help this emigration. Italy has an excess of 300,000 births over deaths annually, and these 300,000 must find an outlet. Industry in Italy has ad-

[1] U. S. Immigration Service Bulletin. 1:9-12. February 1, 1919.

vanced and is making ever-increased demands on labor, but the increase is not equal to the supply. Italy has an excess of labor and it would benefit both the United States and Italy if this labor could be induced or would choose to come here."

On page 51 he says:

"Although industry in Italy is entering a new era of aggrandizement, this development can not yet absorb Italy's huge labor reserve. Emigration must take care of that; those who remain in Italy will have work at good wages, and bolshevism will go unheeded."

Mr. De Ambris was solicitous about preventing bolshevism in Italy, but he was not worried about the bolshevism likely to be produced here by having two men for every job.

What is said about the surplus in Italy may be said with equal force, and even greater force, as to some other countries.

The year before the war in Europe began 1,218,480 immigrants came to this country.

Those were mainly from the countries of southern and eastern Europe. During the war scarcely any came. If the war had not been on, the emigration from those countries during the past four and a half years, at the rate it had been making for the previous four years, would have been somewhat more than their loss by death in the war. Hence the depletion by death in the war leaves those countries about where they would have been left by emigration. Thus they will start anew.

Conditions in Russia will naturally cause many people from that country to seek homes elsewhere. If the Bolshevists are suppressed, they will be the ones who will come here to join their brethren, both foreign and native, in flaunting the red flag and teaching death to individuals and destruction to property.

Major LaGuardia in his testimony before the committee predicted a large immigration of Greeks, Syrians, and so on.

Capt. Johnson, Member of Congress from South Dakota, who had a most honorable career at the front in France and had the opportunity to investigate at first hand, predicted before the committee that large numbers of the worst classes will as soon as possible make a rush for America.

How soon will that be? Just as soon as the steamship companies can begin their transportation.

A more arrogant lot of outlaws never entered our ports than some of those steamship companies.

In proof of that fact it need only be stated that although only

a little over 100,000 aliens came to this country during the last fiscal year, and many of them came across the Mexican border, yet fines to the amount of $63,315 were levied on the steamship companies for flagrant violations of our immigration laws.

Again, it is urged that many aliens now here will return to their countries as soon as they can secure transportation. That is no doubt true; but nearly everyone of them will go back with the expectation of soon returning to this country and bringing some of his relatives with him.

This was admitted by one of the fairest and most intelligent witnesses that appeared before our committee against this bill. There were two cogent reasons which impelled the committee to favor this legislation. One is the unsettled labor conditions that are already beginning here, and that will no doubt grow worse as the soldiers from our armies are discharged and war workers are released.

Although less than one-fifth of our soldiers have been discharged, we are already hearing of the surplus of labor increasing in almost every section of the country.

A few weeks ago the Division of Employment Service of the Department of Labor reported a surplus in only a few States. Each day's report adds to that surplus, until to-day a majority of the States report such surplus.

In some cities riots are occurring from unemployment, and in a few cases unemployed discharged soldiers are engaging in those riots.

At Pittsburgh the employers of unorganized labor are cutting wages. Most of their employees are foreigners.

The workingman is barely making a support at present wages with the high cost of living prevailing. Then, how can he be expected to submit to a reduction of wages while the cost of what he has to buy to feed and clothe his family is so high, and in many cases going higher ?

Then will it not be a tragedy if we allow thousands of aliens to come to our shores to work for low wages and thereby secure the jobs that ought to go to the returning American soldiers and the war workers? The American Federation of Labor and the four brotherhoods of railroad workers are unanimously for this bill.

The writer of this report has heard from some large employers of labor who favor this legislation because they fear the confusion and irritation that will result from permitting a large

influx of foreigners, many of whom bring the red flag in one hand and the bomb in the other.

Another reason that influenced the committee is the danger to political, moral, and material conditions in this country generally by the admission of thousands of revolutionists and Bolshevists from foreign countries. War has intensified the spirit of lawlessness all over Europe and it will take years to eradicate it.

Conditions here may be composed and return to normal in two years if we are left alone, but in other countries it will take four or six or ten years to bring about that change, and certainly during that period we ought to protect our own from European conditions.

It is impossible to keep out revolutionists and Bolshevists without keeping out substantially everybody. We have had a law excluding anarchists for years, and yet the war developed the fact that we had thousands of them in our midst. The far-famed melting pot has proven to a great degree a delusion and a snare. We feel that it is now time that we were beginning to look after those of our own household, rather than to open our ports to many who know nothing of our laws, our customs, our standards of living, and never intend to learn of them.

We have by our liberal immigration laws taken many who have proven that their hearts and their sympathies were not with us, and they were ready to strike their poison fangs into the bosom that warmed them.

Now, let us try for at least four years to close ranks and try to see "Who's who in America."

## THE NEW IMMIGRATION [1]

The immigration problem is again to the forefront. Recent developments clearly indicate that not only from a political and social point of view, but also from an industrial standpoint, it will soon assume its pre-war significance.

Aside from the factors which are affecting the United States, it is also interesting to note that the entire world seems to be in a state of migration. Our own country is not the only one that now seems alluring to the European immigrant. In Northern

[1] By W. Jett Lauck, member of the U. S. Immigration Commission, 1907-1910. Review of Reviews. 62:618-24. December, 1920.

Italy, entire coal-mining communities have moved across the Alps into the coal-producing areas of France. Other Italians have gone to the Argentine. From Portugal there has been an enormous migration to Brazil; and the supply of Portuguese manual labor has become so depleted that the government has been petitioned to prevent a further exodus. Even the Swiss, who before the war were home-staying people, are migrating in comparatively large numbers to the New World.

Throughout Europe, and especially in Southern and Eastern Europe, the close of the war has been marked by extensive migration which will undoubtedly become more pronounced when existing restrictions are removed and transportation facilities improved and reduced in cost.

### *War Shortage of Half a Million Yearly*

So far as the United States is concerned, 1913—the year preceding the outbreak of hostilities in Europe—may be said to have been our last year of normal immigration. In that year, the net gain in population, or the excess of immigrants over emigrants, was approximately 582,000. From that year forward to the signing of the armistice, immigration radically declined. Up to the time of our entrance into the World War, the number of aliens who returned to their native countries practically equaled the number of immigrants received here. After we entered the conflict, immigration practically ceased.

That same four-year period witnessed an unprecedented industrial expansion, which was forced to depend on the labor supply that was available at the beginning of the war in 1914. As a consequence, there was a great scarcity of labor, especially of unskilled and agricultural workers. It was estimated at the termination of the war that there was a shortage in our requirements of unskilled immigrant labor of between three and four million men.

### *First Effects of Peace*

This condition of affairs was intensified by an unprecedented outward movement of our foreign-born, as soon as peace was declared. Aliens who had been here during the war were anxious to return to their native countries, either to renew relations with their families and friends, from whom they had been separated for five years, or else to take advantage of depreciated exchange

and reduced values abroad to invest savings accumulated here during the war. This tendency was especially noticeable among the Bulgarians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Greeks, and South Italians. During the first six months of 1919, four thousand more aliens left the country than entered. Within the year following the armistice, it has been estimated, approximately five times as many unskilled male immigrant workers departed for their homes as came in during that period.

### *Influx of Women*

Another peculiar development which also became apparent after the armistice was the unprecedented proportion of alien women and children among the new immigrants. This was due primarily to those alien males who entered the United States before the war, and who did not return home at its conclusion, but sent for their wives, children, and parents. Unmarried women from Northern and Western Europe, because of abnormal conditions at home—as in Ireland—also migrated to the United States in search of employment. A surprising and interesting fact also which soon developed in connection with this influx of immigrant women, was that very few would accept employment as domestic servants.

### *The Hordes Begin to Arrive*

With the beginning of the present calendar year the situation began to change. Women aliens continued to arrive in unusual numbers, but the total number of immigrants arriving each month began to exceed the number of emigrants. During the twelve months ending June 30, 1920, approximately 140,000 more aliens arrived in the country than departed, and during the past few months, the influx of immigrants has been even greater.

The facilities at Ellis Island, New York, where 80 per cent of the newcomers land, have been entirely inadequate to cope with the situation. The incoming tide has been so great that sleeping quarters are often entirely insufficient for those detained on the island. By way of illustration it was recently reported that it was necessary to pack 1300 women and children in a room designed to accommodate only 250 persons. At other times it has been reported that the force of inspectors was so powerless to keep up with the influx that it was necessary to delay the discharge of immigrants from incoming boats. The immigration

authorities are doing their best to cope with the situation, but they are suffering from the failure of the Government to prepare for the present contingency. It was known that the immigrant tide would develop great proportions after the war, but, due to the pressure of other activities, no preparation was made.

*Larger Numbers Yet to Come*

The indications are that the present movement will grow larger instead of decreasing. In January of this year, the number of new arrivals for the country as a whole was, in round numbers, 31,000 as compared with 86,000 in August, the latest month for which returns are available. Reports from steamship companies show that existing steerage accommodations are booked for a year to come. Advices from abroad all describe a constantly growing movement to emigrate to this country, despite the increasing costs of ocean transportation.

Real peace may bring with it employment at home for the people of Europe decimated by the ravages of war. But the evidence at present is all the other way, and it seems a safe prediction that the forces leading toward emigration are again in the ascendency in Europe, and that, if no further checks are placed in the way, immigration into the United States will soon attain its pre-war level and perhaps rise to a much higher level.

The evidence is not so clear as to what will be the racial characteristics of the new immigration. Thus far, of course, the immigrants have come from the allied and neutral nations. This, however, may mean little as to the future, as pointed out by the Commissioner General of Immigration. Experience has shown that Immigration to the United States may come as readily from nations defeated in war as from those successful in war. Thus, prior to the unification of a victorious Italy, almost no Italian immigrants had come to the United States, but with unification accomplished, emigration began and soon grew to huge proportions. On the other hand, the beginning of emigration from Austria to the United States followed upon its severe defeat by Germany in 1866.

Nor does the fact that we ourselves have been at war with a particular country seem to have serious effect upon the movement of emigration from that country to ours. There was a heavy influx from the United Kingdom following upon the War of 1812, and Spanish immigration to the United States was

doubly as large in the twenty years following the Spanish-American War as in the preceding seventy-five years. Evidently the animosities of war are soon forgotten by the great body of the poorer classes from which our immigration is drawn.

*Where They Now Come From, and What They Do*

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, the largest number of immigrants from Europe came, in the order named, from Southern Italy (including Sicily and Sardinia), England, Spain, Portugal (including Cape Verde and Azore Islands), Greece, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Sweden, Poland, and Norway. By far the greatest number of newcomers of any one race were the South Italians. They numbered 95,000 as compared with 27,000 English, the greatest number from any country of Western Europe. South Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Greeks constituted the great bulk of immigration from Europe.

Another distinctive feature of the past year has been the influx of a large number of Mexicans, together with immigrants from the West Indies, and British possessions in North America.

The races which showed distinct gains in population during this year, after departures had been deducted from new arrivals, were Dutch and Flemish, English, French, Hebrew, Irish, North and South Italian, Mexican, Portuguese, Scotch, Spanish, and Negro or African.

Of the grand total of 430,000 immigrants admitted in the year ending June 30 last, 12,000, in round numbers, reported themselves to be from professional occupations, 70,000 were skilled workers, and 174,000 were of unskilled and miscellaneous occupations. In the professional groups, teachers, clergy, professional electricians and engineers, and literary and scientific occupations predominated. Among the skilled industrial workers the leading classifications were carpenters, clerks, accountants, iron and steel workers, machinists, mariners, miners, dressmakers, seamstresses, bakers, barbers, blacksmiths, painters, shoemakers, tailors, weavers, and spinners. In the miscellaneous group, farmers and farm laborers numbered only 27,000, servants 37,000, and unskilled laborers 82,000.

*Quality Always More Significant Than Quantity*

This question, however, as to the character of further immigration is of the utmost seriousness. From the standpoint not

only of labor, but of our whole social organization, the racial character of our immigration is of much greater importance than its magnitude. Immigration did not become a problem primarily through mere numbers. It became a problem only when it became converted into a feeder of raw, unskilled industrial workers for the mines and manufacturing establishments of the United States.

* * * * *

The breaking point had, indeed, arrived some years before the war. The United States Immigration Commission, reporting in 1910, reached the definite conclusion that the point of complete saturation had been reached in the employment of immigrants in mining and manufacturing establishments. The commission found that, owing to the rapid expansion in industry which had taken place during the preceding thirty years, and the constantly increasing employment of southern and eastern Europeans, it was impossible to assimilate the newcomers, politically or socially, or to educate them to American standards of compensation, efficiency, or conditions of employment.

Of utmost importance, also, was the effect of the war morale upon the more recent immigrants—except, perhaps, those in the position of enemy aliens. The passage of five years without recruits would in itself have quickly diminished their ranks.

### *Americanizing the Immigrant*

In the war period, opportunity for Americanization was greatly stimulated. To many it came through service in the military forces. To others the stimulus of war activities, regular employment, higher wages, and improved working conditions broke down the old barriers and brought them up to, or at least nearer, the American level of living. The influence of this period upon the newer immigrants cannot well be over-emphasized.

The change that was effected is indicated by the greater apparent ease with which the recent immigrant workers are now organizable by the labor unions. The steel industry, for instance, has for years been manned, except in the skilled occupations, almost entirely by the newer immigrants and for an equal number of years it has been regarded as perhaps the one industry where a general organization of labor was to be least expected. Nevertheless, the steel strike of last autumn, although a complete failure in its immediate aims, showed that the spirit of

organization had crept deeply into the minds of the unskilled steel workers.

The growth of this spirit of organization is beneficial to our whole social organization. For whether one approves or disapproves of labor unions as at present organized, it is of vital importance to a democracy that the possibility of association on a plane of mutual respect and helpfulness should be present among the workers.

*Restricting Undesirable Immigrants*

The literacy test, enacted in 1917, has been in existence too short a period to measure its full effectiveness. Evidence to date, however, offers little hope that it will prove a sufficient barrier to that type of immigration which is undesirable on economic grounds. In the fiscal year 1919, only 1455 out of a total immigration of 141,132, were excluded at ports of entry on account of inability to meet the literacy tests.

In conclusion, therefore, it may be said that unless there is further restriction of immigration, the situation for the American industrial worker is not very promising. A policy of permanent or absolute exclusion is not imperative. All that is essential is to limit temporarily the number of incoming aliens so that the foreign workmen already in the country may be industrially assimilated and educated to the point where they will demand proper standards of living and will be constrained by the economic aspirations of the native American. If the influx of immigrant wage-earners is resumed on the pre-war basis, there is no ground for expecting any noteworthy improvements in the near future in the working and living conditions of the employees of our mines and factories.

A proper and intelligent restriction may be secured by the legislation recently prepared and favorably acted upon by the Congress. It consists in limiting the number of new arrivals to a fixed percentage of the representatives of the different immigrant races already resident in this country as shown by the returns of the federal Census Bureau. In its practical application, this legislation would obviously for a time admit proportionately larger numbers of Northern and Western Europeans. This would be desirable from an industrial point of view, and from a political and social standpoint as well; because Southern and Eastern Europe not only have comparatively low economic standards, but also since the war have been more generally

influenced by revolutionary and communistic socialism and other extreme doctrines than the races of Western Europe.

It is true that a restriction of immigration would be in reality an arbitrary curtailment of the increase in the existing labor supply, and might be attended by a temporary check in the rapidity of the remarkable industrial expansion which has been characteristic of recent years. However, it is equally true that the measure of the economic welfare of the citizens of an industrial and commercial nation does not consist in the number of tons of coal produced or the tons of pig-iron, steel rails, or yards of print cloth manufactured. The real indication of material prosperity is to be found in the extent to which the wage-earners in mines and factories share in the industrial output which is partly attributable to their labors; and unless there is a limitation placed upon the supply of cheap foreign labor of low standards and aspirations, it is perfectly clear that the American wage-earner cannot hope to participate properly in the results of our industrial progress.

## THE JOHNSON BILL (H. R. 14461) [1]

Mr. Chairman, this bill is designed to suspend immigration for two years, less two months considered necessary to take care of those who have started. It is hoped that during two years the committee or a select committee or a joint committee can find time to revise and rebuild from the ground up the immigration laws of the United States, which are somewhat hard to understand from the fact that they have been amended, and amended, and amended, to meet conditions as they have arisen during past years in the United States.

This bill admits travelers for business, pleasure, or curiosity for a space of six months' duration, renewable by application to the Secretary of State. That provision is in lieu of the present line of exemptions in the present law, which runs all the way from nurses to civil engineers, but does not exempt other engineers. These exemptions have been made by arbitrarily voting up and down in the committee in past years. This measure provides visés for all those who come in here as travelers for business, pleasure, or curiosity. It lets in actual students

[1] From the debate in the House of Representatives, December 9, 1920. Congressional Record. 60:93-4. December 1920. [Unbound.]

for a designated period of study at designated institutions. This bill also admits the direct blood line of relatives of citizens of the United States on the certificate of the Secretary of Labor and waives the literacy test for those relatives.

The reason for that is this: The present law says that a father or grandfather, 55 years old or older, shall be admitted if illiterate, and children under 16. The literacy test applies to others, but when a relative arrives under such conditions the relative in this country usually finds a way to give bond to secure his admission on probation. Our new plan, then, is that those of our citizens having in the old country fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers, or children or half-orphan grandchildren may by securing a permit in the Department of Labor here send for those relatives with a reasonable certainty that once they start for America they may come through. We want to do away with delay at Ellis Island. Of course, those who come in will come practically on the guarantee of the relative who brings them in as to his ability to support them, to provide for them in case of sickness, or insanity, or the like. All will come subject to all of the other provisions of the present law.

This bill undertakes to do a proper thing by letting those here who have first papers or who will take out first papers send for wives or husbands and dependent children of either wife or husband, a proper exemption in any attempt to suspend immigration for any length of time.

This bill permits the going and coming of citizens of Canada, New Foundland, Cuba, and Mexico, as under the present law, with the addition of a six months' stoppage, which I think if we have not already provided for in the bill can be arranged by a clause providing for a renewal. The bill undertakes to add provisions to the immigration laws, but does not break down the laws in any detail. Some little question has been raised about the conditions and provisions of this bill with respect to a gentleman's agreement which is attached to our treaty with Japan. My opinion is, my friends, that it does not interfere with it at all. It is provided that those who are here and 21 years old, citizens, either naturalized or born here, may send for certain relatives. The Japanese here have that privilege now under the present laws in certain cases, and in other cases we have estimated that the number who would reach the age of 21 years in the next two years, either here or in Hawaii, would be very small.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has consumed 20 minutes.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a short question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. We have now what is known as the Chinese exclusion act. That remains in force, does it?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. This does not change that in any respect whatever. The last section safeguards Chinese exclusion.

Mr. ROWE. Does this bill permit the entry of household servants?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I will answer that question and also explain the skilled-labor clause. A Member reading the bill hastily might think that this bill specifically lets in skilled labor. The clause carries only the present law, to the effect that if skilled labor can not be found in the United States —as, for example, a diamond cutter—he may be brought here. The law also provides that Americans going abroad may contract to bring back with them a nurse or a cook, and the provision in this bill in regard to servants is to continue that exemption.

Mr. HUDSPETH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. HUDSPETH. I understand there is a provision under which you can bring in laborers from Canada and Newfoundland and Cuba and Mexico for six months?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes; subject to the literacy test. We do not undertake to change present law on that. If the Secretary of Labor had the right in years past to lift the head tax, he has still the right now.

Mr. HUDSPETH. Is it the gentleman's construction that he has that right?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. No; I do not think he has, and I do not think he ever had that right.

Mr. HUDSPETH. He claims to have the right.

Mr. VAILE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, I want to call it to the attention of the committee that this bill is for a temporary suspension of immigration. There is a misapprehension which seems to be shared by a good many people on the outside that this is a start on a permanent policy to keep nearly everybody out. The members of the committee do not so

understand it. They do think, however, that a temporary suspension of immigration is necessary now, admittedly, as an expedient made necessary by the present conditions. It is necessary in order to put our own house in order, and it is necessary in order to work out a plan covering the whole subject. Most of us have our own ideas as to what those plans should be. It is the most contentious subject in the world. It will involve more difference of views, perhaps, more difference of viewpoints advocated in the hearings before the committee, than any other subject in the world. Personally I hope the time may come when we can have adequate inspection on the other side, when we can be assured that when a newcomer comes here he will be started on his course of becoming a useful citizen of the United States and not be subject to harpies and pirates of all kinds, both of his own nationality and other nationalities; that he will be started right and be kept in the right path. To that end I myself would advocate some system of registration, by which we should know, until the newcomer becomes a citizen of the United States, who he is, and by which we may know where he is, and if after a certain time, not unreasonably long, he should not become a citizen of the United States, and should be unable or unwilling to qualify for citizenship, he should go back.

But those are plans for the future. They may not be shared by many other Members of the House. The point that is pressing upon us now is to guard what is our own, what belongs to us and our children. We should be glad if we could give freely to all the rest of the world; but if we should try to give too much, we might lose not only the power to give but the substance of the thing which we would like to give, and consequently we simply must hold back for the present. [Applause.]

## THE JOHNSON BILL [1]

I am in favor of shutting the immigration gate for a period of at least one year. This is a critical time in the history of the world. It is time for America to examine conditions in her own household. We were told in debate here this morning

[1] By J. Thomas Heflin, of Alabama, in the United States Senate, February 19, 1921. Congressional Record. 60:3650-2. February 19, 1921. [Unbound.]

that there are 30,000,000 aliens and their descendants in the United States. Shall 30,000,000 dictate to 70,000,000 what our policy shall be on this all-important question? Shall the law makers of our country truckle to the vote that threatens to punish those who would restrict immigration? I call upon the other seventy and odd million Americans to guard the gate and stop undesirables from pouring into our country. It makes no difference whose political fortune is involved, the welfare of the country should be placed above the political fortunes of any man.

Two millions and more already in the United States are without employment the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] told us a day or two ago. If 2,000,000 Americans are walking the streets with nothing to do, with many industries shut down, and with agriculture in dire distress, with disturbed conditions all around us, why not shut the immigration gate for one year and keep seven or eight hundred thousand more people from pouring in upon our shores?

Mr. President, but a small percentage of those who come to this country go to the farm; in this bill, however, they have provided that those who go to the city, who take their places in the workshops there, shall pay $7 per head and have about $300 in money, but that those who are to be sent out into the rural communities of the country need not have a dollar. I submit that this is a consideration that our farmers will not greatly appreciate.

But, Mr. President, some tell us that we can permit a few hundred thousand foreigners to come in and that if the cities become congested we will send them to the farms. The distressing conditions that now obtain, as a result of the war and other things, in the South and West, the great farming sections of the country, our farmers could not afford to pay them wages enough to live. At the present low and unprofitable price of cotton the farmer in the South is not able to pay them a living wage. At the present low and unprofitable price of corn, the grain grower of the West is not able to pay them a living wage. But we are told that there are 10,000,000 ready to be dumped in upon our shores, and those who oppose restricted immigration in any form tells us that one year is too long for any foreigner to have to wait before we permit him to come over and enjoy the blessings and benefits of our great country.

Citizenship here is worth years of work and striving. Let them learn to appreciate its value.

Why, Mr. President, Jacob had to work and wait 7 years for Rachel, and when he found that they had fooled him and given him Leah he worked and waited 7 years more for Rachel—14 years in all—but when we seek to impress upon all those who aspire to citizenship in this superland of liberty, when we desire to close the doors at this critical time lest thousands and hundreds of thousands of dangerous and undesirables come in before we can determine thoroughly the policy we will adopt upon this question of immigration, they tell us that we are unreasonable and that one year is too long to have to wait.

Why, Senators on the other side yesterday postponed the great road-building program of 43 States in the Union, and this was done, they told us, in order to give them time to get their bearings and work out a permanent program. They stopped that great and important work, but it is too much to ask the Senate to shut the gate for one year in the face of thousands who seek to come here and poison the very life of the Nation. It is time for this Nation to stop, look, and listen. We must work out very carefully an immigration policy to meet the new and changed conditions in world affairs. One thing that all loyal Americans can and will agree upon, and that is that no enemy shall enter.

## IMMIGRATION: THE JOHNSON BILL [1]

*Statement by Captain John B. Trevor*

In my testimony of yesterday (January 11th) I called attention to the fact that in the report of the Attorney-General of the United States it is alleged that the investigation made by the Department of Justice in the past year "has clearly indicated that fully ninety per cent. of the communist and anarchist agitation is traceable to aliens." In view of this expression of opinion from an authoritative source, it is pertinent to examine the makeup of those centers of our population to which the incoming immigration tends automatically to flow. The figures of the census of 1920 not being available to me, I am compelled to re-

[1] From the report and debate at the special meeting of the N. Y. State Chamber of Commerce, January 20, 1921. N. Y. (State) Chamber of Commerce Monthly Bulletin. 12:sup. 3-33. January, 1921.

sort to those of 1910, which form, together with other data, the basis of the ethnic map introduced in evidence. It is an incontestable fact, based on common knowledge as well as detailed researches during the war, that certain elements in our population, both foreign born and native born of the first generation from foreign parentage, reacted partly by sentiment and partly through intensive propaganda, originated and developed, directly or indirectly, to a great extent by our enemies during the war. For example, it was a matter of comment among the staff that the rise and fall of cases reported to the Office of Military Intelligence, New York City, reflected to an extraordinary extent the ebb and flow of the fortunes of the armies engaged in the struggle in Europe. In saying this I do not for a moment question the loyalty of a very large percentage of the foreign born naturalized citizens of persons of native birth, but foreign parentage. It must, however, be obvious even to those who have not engaged in intensive investigation of enemy or radical activity that sentimental attachment for the land of origin is sufficiently widespread to constitute a menace in the present critical condition of affairs in Europe. No one questions, for instance, the loyalty of the Irish-American population of the United States, but it is incontrovertible that the devotion of this element of our population to the traditional conflict between their kinsfolk in Ireland and Great Britain has compromised to a considerable degree prominent persons in that group in the community today. In the same way it will be clear after a little study of the situation that the elements of our population, derived to a great extent from regions which have suffered to an extraordinary degree from the ravages of war, revolution, famine and disease, might reasonably be expected to react on behalf of their racial groups in Central and Southeastern Europe. It is a perfectly human reaction of people unassimilated as yet by our population as a whole.

The Commissioner General of Immigration, in his report of 1913, page 109, says: "There can be no question but that many of the evils that grow out of our present excessive immigration would be remedied, or at least alleviated, if the congestion of the aliens in our large centers of population could be broken up." These areas have not been broken up, and it is for that reason as well as through the dissemination of insidious propaganda generally that unrest is frequently attributed to racial tenden-

cies. It is the writer's opinion, as a result of his experience during the war, that given the same conditions, any racial agglomeration in the midst of a community foreign to them will inevitably react in a similar way. At this time we are confronted with facts from which there are no escape; Russia is in the chaos of a revolutionary movement. For perfectly comprehensible reasons, those elements of our population who emigrated to escape the political and religious persecution of the old Russian Empire, so detested the government of the Czar that their sympathies drew them toward any movement, German or revolutionary, which would tend to break down that hated government. Pursuing this thought to its logical conclusion, the tendency is not to be wondered at, nor are they altogether to be blamed in their ignorance and with their prejudices for a sympathetic regard for Soviet Russia. It is from the group of new States arising from the wreckage of the ancient empires of Central and Eastern Europe, all of them disturbed by the revolutionary movement and smarting with vague antagonisms resulting from the war, that the incoming tide of immigration is commencing to flow.

In order that the Committee may not consider this situation as outlined above to be purely local to New York, permit me to point out that while the native born population of native parentage in that city is less than 20 per cent., according to the figures of the census of 1910, it is also "less than one-quarter of the population of Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit and Milwaukee, while in cities like Fall River, Mass., it constitutes little more than 10 per cent. In only fourteen of the fifty largest cities of America does the native parentage population equal 50 per cent. of the total." In this connection it is pertinent to add some significant statistics collected by Mr. Fosdick, from whom I quote, in regard to crime: "Take for example the typical year of 1918: Chicago, with a population of two million and a half, had fourteen more murders than England and Wales with an aggregate population of thirty-eight million; New York City in 1918 had six times more homicides than London, and exceeded the total homicides of England and Wales by 67. In 1918, New York had 849 robberies and assaults with intent to rob, London 63, England and Wales 100." In connection with these statistics, Mr. Fosdick says: "At the same time the large preponderance

in America of certain types of crime which are, generally speaking, unaffected by police activity—such as premeditated murder and many kinds of commercial frauds—affords a basis for the belief that our greater comparative propensity to crime is to a certain degree due to the makeup of our population, quite apart from the inefficiency of our police forces."

It is among these elements that the propagandists disseminate either by word of mouth, where the alien is illiterate, or visually by means of newspapers and pamphlets, doctrines such as this:

"You must develop the general political strike against the capitalist government. Out of the general political strike will develop that form of mass action—armed conflict between the workers and the capitalist government—through which the struggle between the capitalist robbers and the workers will be finally settled by the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. That is the program of the Communist Party. Read it, study it, talk to your fellow workers about it.

*"Once you have control of the power of the government you can deal with the capitalist robbers, by taking the industries out of their hands and establishing social ownership and workers' control. That is the only way to change the present conditions."* (From latest proclamation of the Communist party of America, received Dec. 13th, 1920), or the following, quoted from one of a number of subversive articles printed in *Free Society*: "If some courageous fighter for freedom can not keep looking on at the suppression of the workers, cannot submit any longer to the innumerable crimes of this system and starts to make use of the bomb, in order to avenge the wrongs of the people, as Leon Czolgozs has done by killing McKinley, then none should complain the less about it than the rulers of today, who have shown by their spoken and printed words, during the explosion, that they expect deserving repayment for all their crimes against the people."

In this connection it would be well to read in *The Communist No.* 10, the official organ of the United Communist Party of America, Section of the Third (Communist) International, the report on the World Congress of the Communist International, as a good exposition of the widespread revolutionary movement.

In view of the fact that the opponents of the Johnson measure urge the inadequate supply of labor for the farms, it is pertinent

to refer to the Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1920, page 41 (see Appendix B). In this table, as reproduced in the appendix attached hereto, I have added percentages of farm laborers and farmers together. It will be observed that in the period 1910 to 1914 the aggregate of these elements coming into the United States was 25.4 per cent in 1920 the aggregate was 6.3 per cent. That is to say, to get six farmers you must bring in one hundred immigrants. It should be noted that there is no proof that even this paltry 6.3 per cent of farmers actually pursued their former occupation in the State of their intended future residence. Supposing this ratio to hold good during the present fiscal year it is easy to visualize the vast number of immigrants we must absorb in order to appreciably increase our farming population. It is highly significant that in 1920, 40.3 per cent of the immigrants should be classified as having no occupation. In other words, they are dependents, whereas in 1910-1914 that ratio was only 26.2 per cent.

With these figures in mind, turn now to Appendix "C," attached hereto, reprinting figures from the Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor. This table shows immigrant aliens admitted by States of intended future residence. For example, take the year before the war—1913—it will be noted that Connecticut, a manufacturing State took 35,138; Illinois, primarily an industrial State, 107,060; Massachusetts, an industrial State, 101,674; New York, an industrial State, 330,531; Pennsylvania, an industrial State, 182,744. Turning to the figures for 1920, it will be noted that 106,630 of 430,001 immigrants, or 24.8 per cent, gave New York as the State of their intended future residence. Substantiating this argument, reference is now made to Appendix "D," showing the foreign born population in 1910 by States and enumerating the nationality which has a majority in each State, from the Bureau of Census Reports, 1910, Table 36, Annual Statistical Report for 1919. A review of these figures will indicate the tendency among the aliens to concentrate in the industrial centers, a circumstance which will probably be accentuated when the complete figures for 1920 are available, in view of the fact that for the first time in the history of the country the percentage of urban population surpasses that of the rural, the increase being the difference between 51.4 per cent for 1920 and 45.8 per cent for 1910.

*Remarks of Elon Huntington Hooker*

We want a bill which largely restricts, and almost stops, immigration for the present. There are two bills before us, one which cuts immigration to the minimum and the other which essays to give us a thorough system for the future conduct of our immigration policy. It will reasonably take one year for Congress to give us a good law; and, therefore, I think the best thing now is to support the Johnson Bill. Put it through, and then take up immediate plans for the immigration law which is selective at the source, and elective as to distribution.

As I understand it, there are two things the matter with our immigration situation today. In the first place we have officials in charge of immigration who are not sympathetic with real restriction. I need only refer to Mr. Post and to Mr. Howe, a former official, to illustrate what I mean.

The present administration is in power until next March, and it will be a long time before the new President can organize an administrative force there to protect American ideals. In the meantime this country is in the hands of officials in favor of a very lax enforcement of these laws; and the best thing for us for the present is to adopt the measure which most nearly restricts immigration, namely, the Johnson Bill.

Many of these things Mr. Saunders has talked about will be lopped off going through the Senate and House; but if we support the Johnson Bill we will get quick and serious consideration and action on the question.

I am speaking as an employer of labor. Many of the class we are talking of restricting are employed in our works. I am speaking also as having in mind the meeting of the Immigration Committee of the American Defense Society from which I have just come. We have today sent this telegram to Washington:

"The American Defense Society respectfully represents to your Committee that the time has come to effect a definite change in immigration policy from that of substantially unrestricted admission, to that of admission only to such extent and in such manner as may be compatible with the preservation and normal development of American institutions. As a means to this end the Society believes that the only practicable proposal at this time is to adopt a temporary measure of stringent restriction, with the expectation that relaxations of these restrictions will occur only as adequate measures of control are developed.

"In this connection we respectfully call your attention to the fact that America cannot with safety continue to be an asylum for all peoples of the earth. Each European nation is naturally seeking to retain its best and is seeking to put impediments in the way of their leaving, while allowing dependent and undesirable classes to depart. Those now coming are, moreover, largely of races who are untrained by inheritance to appreciate the institutions, laws, customs and traditions of the United States and the freedom expressed in our constitutoin. They multiply our problems unduly even in comparison with their numbers. From their ranks come a large proportion of the radicals, the terrorists and a number of the criminal classes. The labors of our past, the hope of our future, are involved in the immigration problem, and it is not too much to say that the hope of the world's future depends largely upon America standing fast before the cataclysm in world affairs which the World War has brought in its train.

"We respectfully request your approval of the bill known as the Johnson Bill which is now before you, and the creation, under its shelter, of a system of control of immigration which will not only preserve the land from the real danger presented by this problem, but shall uphold and strengthen in the future this nation, which, erected by wisdom and with foresight, has been guarded by patriotic sacrifice, and which almost alone in the history of the nations has succeeded through the prudent care of its governing powers, in maintaining a standard approaching a reality of freedom for the individual, combined with self-imposed restraint and obedience to law.

"We are aware that your body is well versed in the problems under consideration, and that this appeal will be largely unnecessary. It is made only that on a question involving vitally the defense of the land this Society may not remain silent.

"Committee on Immigration
of the American Defense Society."

One of the gentlemen, arguing in favor of continued immigration, says there is plenty of room in this country. We are not so sure of that. I speak for this city. We are now short of houses. I do not mean apartments where you can pay one hundred and one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month per room. There is no room in the tenement house district what-

ever. There are today one hundred thousand families more than we can accommodate in the tenement house district in this town. They are tucked away, one hundred thousand families, with one hundred thousand others. There are in some tenements four and five sleeping in kitchens. As many as twelve people live in three rooms, many rooms having only a single window. Some are dark rooms. In some of these places, where five or six people live, there are cases of tuberculosis. Fully half of the immigrants who come here stay in New York City, and go into these tenements. Certainly they cannot get into the more expensive apartments I spoke of. And among these people, who have not been properly selected on the other side, many of the children suffer from rickets, and many of the children and the grown people from scurvy. They have no resistance against disease.

When they come here will they be able to resist disease in these tenement houses, overcrowded as they are? Will they be able to get the proper nourishment, in the way of food, butterfat, milk and green leaves? There is a law that they must be sent back if they become a charge upon the public. Will they be? Well, I had an experience where nine men sent to the sanitarium at Otisville—men who had been here less than one year—struck against raking and picking up leaves, which was the work to which they had been assigned in order to make them well. I wanted them sent home, and reported these cases to the immigration authorities, but not one of them was ever sent back. They stayed in this country, because they had influence in this city which kept them here.

Will we do better in the future with our laws? Have we room for more immigrants? Already in these tenements of ours the death rate is rising.

In an article in an evening paper on Monday, speaking of those who are out of work, the headlines were: "Hundreds Here Idle and Hungry," "Ragged Men and Women at City Lodging Houses on Increase."

Several hundred men and women, hungry and ragged, applied for admission to the Municipal Lodging House last week asking for shelter and employment. The superintendent, in commenting on the situation, said that daily the unemployment situation is growing more serious.

I have recently seen these unemployed in bread-lines. Every

day one receives appeals for charity, some for one-cent coffee stands, some for other purposes. The other day I saw a long line of men going into a moving picture show at eleven o'clock in the morning. They were out of work.

We are quarantined against the bringing in of disease from foreign countries, but it is possible for disease to pass the quarantine here, with the hurried examination that must at times be given. If we pass as many as I have said come in a day, some of those cases of disease would get in, and would spread like wild fire. The thousands and thousands of cases of cholera and typhus on the other side have few physicians to treat them. I understand that there are not seventy-five physicians in Serbia. My own assistant went there—one of the first to go—and died there from typhus. In Egypt and in Tunis, the bubonic plague is present. Of course, the danger is not great until one case slips through the quarantine.

Now, a proper inspection on the other side, which we all agree should be given, will cost millions of dollars, and it takes experts to carry it out. It will take some time for the Public Health Service or any other service which has to undertake this work, to get through with its preparations for handling it. It will take much organization.

*Remarks of Dr. Jeremiah W. Jenks*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—May I first emphasize the address just made with some figures? I have some figures as to the immigration of 1920. Of the Dutch and Scandinavians who arrive, only thirteen per cent remain in New York; of the Scandinavians, twenty-four per cent; of the Scotch, thirteen per cent; and of the English, eighteen per cent. On the other hand, the great bulk of immigrants coming in now are from southern and eastern Europe. Of these the Italians leave thirty-seven per cent in New York City, the Greeks thirty-one per cent; the Spaniards forty-five per cent; the Hebrews thirty-nine per cent. That is to say, those who settle in New York City are by all odds those from races whose work we need least at the present time. We need foremen, not men for the industries or for trade.

It seems to me that the facts show there is a decided emergency at the present time.

I am in accord with the statement that we should take into consideration the psychological effect of our acts upon this coun-

try and upon Europe as well. I have not heard stated, what seems to me to be the most fundamental principle to guide us in this matter. The United States Immigration Commission, which made a non-partisan scientific examination of the question, laid down this as a guiding principle: That the test of any policy should be the maintenance of the standard of living of the masses in each community; they also believed that it would be better to have a somewhat slower growth in the accumulation of wealth than to have any lowering in our standards of living. The standards of living of the great working classes in the community we should keep in mind.

Now, as a result of four years investigation, that Commission reported that the immigration of that time—about one million a year—was enough to hold down or at times to lower the standards of living. Out of that Commission of nine men—Democrats and Republicans, Senators and Congressmen, Roman Catholics and Protestants—several members believed when they began their work, that there should not be further restriction. But at the end of their investigation they decided unanimously that more restriction of immigration was necessary.

Attention has been called to the fact that many people are returning to their native land now. During the period of the war, and since, many of them have been planning to get away. It was to be expected that many would go. But the number going back will fall off soon. Those coming, however, are largely increasing in number from month to month, while those going away are going out only at about the same rate as before the war. And there is reason to believe there is to be a decided lessening in the future of those going away; while those coming in will increase in number as the steamship capacity increases. Those coming in, too, are of the wrong type for the industrial progress of the country. They are not sending the best product, nor of the occupations needed. Our present laws admit all kinds; but our industrial problem is one we must keep in mind in connection with future legislation.

What we need is a selective test at the port of embarkation, with appropriate distribution at the port of entry, when the time comes; but to work out that policy takes months and years, and this emergency is with us now.

We should make up our minds to have a change in our general view of immigration. We have heretofore looked upon

America as a land of refuge for all who wished to come. That is a noble attitude; but we shall now have to take the attitude of all other progressive nations of the world: that we will not admit all, but will select those who come here so that they will benefit themselves and benefit us. That policy is as good for Europe as it is for the United States. If the immigrants come in here in such large numbers that they hold down and depress our standards of living, then this will be no longer a land of refuge for them. On the other hand, if those who come in are those we want to have come in, our standard will improve, and that will benefit all.

*Remarks of Major Elihu C. Church*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—I will speak on immigration from the standpoint of unemployment; a subject on which I addressed you two years ago. At that time I had the task of getting jobs for the soldiers who were being discharged from the army. We had about two million men to look after. It was a great problem. First we started a "spruce-up campaign" to encourage people to do those things they had been too busy to do during the war, in order to make work for the men leaving the army. We did not have much trouble about the farm men. Those men who came from the farms originally, generally went back to the farms. The men who had gone to the front from the cities, did not go to the country, but stayed here in town.

Now we are facing a similar problem to get positions for the estimated two millions who are out of employment at the present time. Let me read a few extracts which bear on the present situation: Here are reports from 116 representative concerns in one place which show 24,000 employees on June 1, 1920, and the number had been reduced to 15,000 on January 1, 1921. This showed thirty-six per cent. out of employment.

Take another report. It comes from Evansville, Indiana, in the center of a farming district. The percentage of idleness among the men who can work on the farms was forty-one per cent.; and the percentage of idleness among the women was twenty-two per cent.

Massachusetts State report shows a decrease of employment. "The number of orders for help received from employers for December shows a decline of fifty-two per cent. from December,

1919, and a decrease of nineteen per cent. from November, 1920; which was also a record-breaking poor business month."

The publication of the Boston Chamber of Commerce states: "In the men's department the demand for skilled help from employers fell off fifty-two per cent. from the previous month, and showed a decrease of seventy-seven per cent. from December of last year.

"There are hundreds of able-bodied workers anxious and willing to work; but there seems to be no demand for their services."

Take the statement of the New York Industrial Commission:

"The reduction in employment in New York State factories is steadily assuming larger proportions. The number of workers employed in all manufacturing industries in the State in December was eight per cent. less than in November. In the nine months from March to December the decrease in employment totals twenty per cent. This means that, during the last three quarters of 1920, one-fifth of the factory employees of the State were laid off. The number of workers employed in December was approximately 300,000 less than in March, 1920, when the highest peak in employment was reached. These facts appear in the prelimininary analysis of more than 1,600 manufacturers' reports for the month of December, which were received by the Bureau of Statistics of the New York State Industrial Commission."

Several million men are out of employment in the United States. Twenty per cent. of our people are out of employment in the State of New York, a majority of whom speak our language, and are in sympathy with our ways of living.

Employment, like charity, should begin at home. Why let in a horde of people whom we are unable to examine, and who cannot speak our language, when we have such a tremendous proportion of our own people now out of employment?

With regard to the merits of the Johnson Bill, I think that is a subject it is not necessary to go into. When you face an emergency it is a good thing to "stop, look and listen"; and the Johnson Bill gives us that opportunity to get our breath; to put our house in order; and to arrange a scientific system for the admission of immigrants in the future. We can plan the ideal

laws at our leisure, and not when we are upset by our own present unemployment. [Applause.]

*Remarks of Colonel Howard C. Smith*

Mr. CHAIRMAN.—From the point of view of education, I want to raise another point in favor of the Johnson Bill. I think that all will admit that immigration means education and the extent of the cost of that education to New York City and State is reflected in the figures quoted today by a previous speaker as to the percentage of immigrants remaining in New York. Within a week I have received from the Board of Education figures to the effect that there are now 82,000 children on part time in the public schools of this city. These figures take no recognition of the adult immigrants who do not speak English, and who apply to the Board of Education for opportunity to study in such large numbers that the Board does not know how to handle them. Immigration today, therefore, means additional burden on the present inadequate facilities for New York State education.

*Remarks of William McCarroll*

We have a great task before us that must be done to Americanize America. We have a country; we are a people; we must consolidate the nation. How difficult is the job! How long will it take to reach these who already make up a third of our population and imbue them with our principles, and inspire them with our institutions? We have already organizations, churches and associations doing all they can. But how limited the reach and how apparently small the result! At best, its accomplishment is the work of a long time. Meanwhile are we going to complicate the difficulties of the problem by increasing the numbers of these aliens, keeping "the door open" while the process of Americanizing America and safeguarding our future against the deadly propagandism is being carried on?

MAJOR CHURCH has presented the existing conditions of unemployment as an important consideration, as it certainly is. This threatens to continue for an indefinite time, and is a strong reason for the temporary suspension of immigration. I am reminded, by the reference to it, of the significant change in the spirit and attitude of our people toward work. Time once was when it was considered the glory of America that it was the country of and for the worker, where all were workers. But no

longer is there the idea of the honor of work. It is the contrary. The doctrine of the least possible work and the least production has been transplanted here and disseminated throughout our industrial workers. As an example we have the proposal for a four-hour day seriously put forward. I say that we cannot afford to continue to add to the numbers of those so infecting and affecting our citizenship, and who are sapping the devotion to American ideals, principles and institutions which are the foundation and the hope of our enduring as a nation. The time has come to call a halt, that the attention of our people may be focused on the fact that the safety and welfare of our country demand that we now reconsider our immigration system. This is to say—if what we have can be properly called a "system" with its confused mazes of conflicting authority exercised by several governmental departments, and with inefficient or worse administration—we must take time now to formulate and establish a consistent policy, definite powers and statesmanlike methods.

All that the Johnson measure, which the report of the Executive Committee endorses in principle, seeks to accomplish is to do just that one thing--provide an interim with temporary suspension of immigration, save some proper exceptions, and to plan and construct an effective instrument along the lines of the Sterling Bill, which is also approved. We shall then have a real policy, just and humane, and hospitable to the right-hearted and worthy immigrant, who seeks our country with purpose to make it his, and to give to it the best that is in him. In so doing we shall safeguard to the limit of prudent foresight the present interests and the future welfare of our nation for ourselves and those to come after us, and for the world of which it is the hope —the America we love so well.

# NEGATIVE DISCUSSION

## WHAT RESTRICTION MEANS[1]

First of all, the result of the war on the sources of American population. These sources are two, birth rate and immigration. Of the two, the first is the more weighty; but immigration has been a more considerable factor in the population of the United States than with any other country.

During the ten years preceding the war we received an average of almost exactly a million immigrants a year. A million a year had come to be looked upon as a sort of standard annual immigrant crop, and we counted on it unconsciously in all our business plans and forecasts of growth and expansion. Unquestionably, from a business point of view, it was by far the most valuable of our crops. We didn't list it as a crop as we did our corn and cotton and wheat and our annual ore output. But a crop it was nevertheless, and it cost us nothing. From a business and economic point of view, omitting for the present all social consideration, it was a gift from the gods. Europe bore all the expense of bearing the immigrant and raising him to maturity; he was delivered at our gates free of charge, a full-grown, able-bodied laborer. Valuable? Of course he was. In the South before the Civil War the less intelligent and far less capable slave had a market value of about a thousand dollars—the 1860 kind of dollars, and a dollar of 1860 was equal to about four of our present dollars of 1919. Our annual immigrant crop, in terms of our national wealth, was worth not less than two billion dollars, and that was twice the value of any of the other great crops that we boasted of.

This annual immigrant crop the war cut off from us. The number of immigrants who came to the United States in 1918 was just about one-tenth of normal; to be exact, 110,618. (And an undue proportion of these were of the less desirable sort, Mexicans, Japanese, West Indians. Whereas through the war

[1] By Mark Sullivan. Reprinted from Colliers in the Jewish Immigration Bulletin. 9:6-7, 9-10. June, 1919.

our immigration from Europe practically ceased, from Mexico and Japan it actually increased.) This accumulated deficit of between four and five million laborers is probably the largest single factor in our present economic situation. Every business man must take account of it, must take account of it both on the side of lack of labor for production and on the side of diminished consumption.

What I have so far said about immigration is of the past. The next phase of the subject is within the field of conjecture. Will peace restore the flow of immigration into the United States? Will immigration recommence at all, and if it does will it come in anything like the pre-1914 rate of a million a year? While this question is in the future, the answer to it is one of the really big, physical factors that are to affect future business and economic conditions in this country.

On this question the only evidence that has actually developed so far is a disturbing and rather mysterious phenomenon. Not only has immigration from Europe to the United States failed to materialize since the armistice. That failure of the emigrants to come for the present and during the few months since the armistice is easy to explain. For one thing, there are no ships to bring them; every corner of every ship that can be found is crowded with American soldiers. For another thing, the Italian laborers who might be expected to be the first to come are not free to leave Italy; they are still in the army. The Italian Government has not yet demobilized its army. For that there are interesting reasons. Partly, Italy is moved by fear of the social disorders that may accompany her demobilization; partly, Italy has in some ways inherited the mantle of Germany. It is not that, however, that has any essential bearing on the question of future immigration into the United States. The disturbing phenomenon that is already apparent is this: European immigrants who are already in the United States and have been here for some time are now leaving us and returning to Europe. They are leaving in large numbers. The head of the immigration service of the United States tells me that:

"The alien exodus up to date is running about 18,000 a month. It is running to ship capacity. And back of those who can get away are many times that number (there being thousand waiting in New York) who are planning to go just as soon as they can

secure passage. The exodus is confined to the Mediterranean because there is very little facility for persons to get back to central Europe. My own impression is that the exodus is going to be tremendously heavy."

This exodus of alien laborers, at a time when labor is scarce and well-paid, is one of the interesting phenomena of the present. It may turn out to be an important one. I don't know that its significance can be perfectly explained. I have been at some pains to try to discover the reasons for it, but I am not sure they are clear. (Our ingenious propaganda among the "wets" say it is due to Prohibition). One element in it is that these aliens are rich. During the past four years they have been earning extremely high wages, and they have acquired what is for them undreamed-of wealth. From their point of view they have become capitalists. Judged by the standard of life which they were accustomed to in Europe, and by the cost of living as they remember it in their old homes, they think they can retire. They do not know that in many parts of Europe the cost of living has become higher than in the United States. One other factor that influences them is their hope to acquire some land. They came to America because they couldn't get land in Europe. Now they have heard that revolution has broken up the old feudal estates. They have heard that it is now possible for them to get a little land in their old homes and they are going back to get it.

Whatever may be the significance of this present back flow of immigrants to their old homes in Europe, it is not necessarily final evidence on the bigger question of future emigration from Europe to the United States.

### *Shall We Destroy Wealth?*

This larger question of whether immigration from Europe to the United States will ever be resumed on a large scale may be determined within a few months. It is just now to the front in Congress, and in Congress there is a strong sentiment toward forbidding it. Congress always has a strong sentiment in this direction. On several occasions in the past severe anti-immigration measures have been passed by Congress only to be vetoed by the President. President Wilson vetoed one and President Taft vetoed one. To vote against immigration always fits in with the prejudices of the majority of congressmen, and with the prevailing feeling of the majority of congressional districts through-

out the country. A congressman can usually make a hit with the organized labor of his district by opposing immigration. Communities which are prevailingly native American are usually prejudiced against immigration. The fact that a few immigrants are anarchists, or otherwise hold political or religious beliefs repugnant to Americans causes sweeping condemnation of all immigration. The conspicuous recurrence of foreign names in our present crusade against what is called Bolshevism tends to make the prejudice against immigration even more acute than usual.

But Congress ought to decide the matter on a basis of broader statesmanship than mere prejudice or panic because of a few crazy bomb throwers. Stated truly, the question before Congress and the country is this: Are we equal to the problem of distinguishing between desirable European immigrants and undesirable ones? Congress ought not to confess the futility which would answer "no" to that question, and it and the country ought to understand the economic significance of what they do.

### *Russia or the United States?*

If Congress, in its impending decision, decides against immigration, that answer obviously will be final. If Congress does not give this kind of decision, then the answer as to future immigration will arise out of future conditions in Europe. The common assumption, and it is a true assumption, is that in practically every country in Europe, economic conditions will be such that large numbers of people will feel like leaving. The great burden that will press upon them, and which they will want to escape, is taxation. You can beat the devil of taxation around the stump as deviously and as energetically as you may, but it will still remain true that, at the end of the road, taxation comes out of work. And a superficial inquiry into the national debts of the countries of Europe makes you realize that in the immediate future the position of a laborer in Europe will be something like this: he will go to work in the morning and he will work to noon; by that time he will have earned enough to pay his taxes; what he earns during the rest of the day he can keep for himself. Under these conditions, it would seem probable that a laborer will be disposed to take his hat and move to some other country.

However, this weight of taxation will be neither so permanent

nor so severe as is now commonly assumed. Statesmen can and will find ways of beating their national debts. Not that any of the debts are likely to be repudiated outright. But statesmen can, and have, inflated the currency. If a normal mark or franc or lira is worth 20 cents, and if, by one device or another, you cut it down to 10 cents, then you can pay your national debt with half the amount of real wealth. Moreover, if you lay an inheritance tax based on 50 per cent of a national debt, two generations will wipe it out. Finally, if the European countries cut out their standing armies and navies, the saving will go a long way toward paying the interest on the public debt. It is not taxation that will give the whole answer as to emigration from European countries. The final answer, it seems to me, lies in the place where it is most possible to get cheap land. That place, in the fairly early future, is going to be Russia. Within five years Russia will have got a good government. She will have broken up her old system of feudal landholding, and will be what our great West was during most of the last century, the country, of cheap land and opportunity, the rainbow end of the emigrant's hope. If there is to be emigration out of the western countries of Europe, that emigration may flow, not to the United States, but to Russia. Russia, however, as a haven for immigrants from the rest of Europe will not be available until that unhappy country has settled down and got a stable government. In the meantime, in the immediate future, the United States can, if it chooses, adopt and practice policies which will be very apt to attract European immigrants here in large numbers.

### *Wanted*: *Millions of Workers*

The United States is now in such a position of financial and economic dominance that we can do about what we please with respect to the rest of the world. That is to say, we can do what we please if we go about it thoughtfully, with business and statesmanship working hand in hand. On the one hand we can lend money and sell raw materials freely to Europe, and let the laborers stay over there and make goods, and we can keep our tariffs low so that the goods they make can come in here for sale. On the other hand, we can keep our money at home and make our tariff high, so that European labor will be led to come over here and work for us here at home. Which of the two policies is to prevail will be developed by time. In any event, whether we are

to have immigration on a large scale is an important factor in our economic future. For a generation we have relied upon the immigrant to build our roads, to mine our coal, to dig our ore, to man our factories, to provide our domestic servants. If we don't get them, then most assuredly we shall have to get along without a good deal of the work they did for us, without a good deal of the comfort and convenience we have been accustomed to.

The result of our present deficit of what we call common labor is one of the most apparent aspects of our daily life. It is apparent in the scarcity of what we call domestic servants. It is apparent in the defective upkeep of our railroads, and even more so in the condition of our public roads. There is no physical need in this country just now so great as good roads. Hundreds of thousands of miles of road which are now merely trails through the mud ought to be made into permanent highways adapted to automobile traffic in any kind of weather conditions.

And what I have said of roads applies in the same degree to that large group of operations which we call "public works." There is a great deal of activity throughout America just now. But what we are busy about, for the most part, is perishable goods, goods for immediate consumption. We are not, and for five years have not been, paying enough attention or indeed any measurable attention, to making additions to the permanent material basis on which our civilization rests.

We have not been building any new railroads, nor have we even been giving adequate upkeep to the railroads we have. The erection of buildings has been interdicted by the Government; we have not been building hospitals, schools, and the like. We cannot resume this kind of building, in the accustomed degree, without a large access of human hands. America in the near future could make profitable use of millions of workers, to build roads and bridges, to repair the railroads, to drain swamps, to build levees on the Mississippi, to reclaim land by irrigation. The degree in which we can take up that kind of permanent improvement will be limited by the available quantity of human beings to do the work.

### *Cheap Food: More Babies*

There would be no need for emphasis on this aspect of the economic and business future of the country if one could hope

that the loss which we shall suffer through the cutting off of immigration would be likely to be offset by our native birth rate. But birth rate is a process which consumes at least twenty years in producing an addition to our labor supply. Moreover, it is pretty certain that the native birth rate in the United States in the near future will be even lower than before. For one thing, it is the recent immigrants who have had the large families, and for five years immigration has been practically shut off. Furthermore, in the United States as well as in all Caucasian countries, the natural laws which govern birth rate will be working adversely. What those laws are cannot be stated with scientific accuracy, but we can take, as at least having the authority of an accepted treatise, the following from Buckle's "History of Civilization" :

"The number of marriages annually contracted is determined, not by the temper and wishes of individuals, but by large general facts over which individuals can exercise no authority. It is now known that marriages bear a fixed and definite relation to the price of corn. (By "corn" Buckle means what Americans call wheat.) In England the experience of a century has proved that instead of having any connection with personal feelings they are simply regulated by the average earnings of the great mass of the people. So that this immense social and religious institution is not only swayed but is completely controlled by the price of food and by the rate of wages."

What Buckle is talking about, you will recognize, is merely that familiar institution of the present day, the high cost of living. And if our birth rate in America during the immediate future is going to be determined by the cost of living, the conclusion is too obvious to be stated. The chief business of thoughtful statesmanship in the United States just now should be focused on measures to facilitate the production and distribution of food and make it less costly to the consumer; measures to change any conditions of industry which operate as deterrents to early marriage; measures which recognize that no kind of economic function, no kind of work that a woman can do is so valuable to society as the bearing of children; measures which recognize that to the individual there is no other career and no

other satisfaction so durable or desirable as the founding of a family and the rearing of children—measures, in short, which look to more babies.

## IMMIGRATION AND LABOR: A SUMMARY[1]

There is no real ground for the popular opinion that the immigrants of the present generation are drawn from a poorer class than their predecessors. It is a historical fact that prior to 1820 the great majority of the immigrants were too poor to prepay their passage, which never cost as much as $50 per steerage passenger; the usual way for a poor man to secure transportation for himself and family was to contract to be sold into servitude after arrival. The next generation of immigrants was not much better off. According to contemporary testimony, the millions of Irish and Germans who came in the middle of the nineteenth century were ignorant and accustomed to a very low standard of living. Since the races of southern and eastern Europe have become predominant among immigrants to the United States, the steerage rates have been doubled, the increase being equivalent to a heavy head tax. The higher cost of transportation must have raised the financial standard of the new immigration, as compared with the immigrants of the 70's and the early 80's. This inference is borne out by the fact that the percentage of illiteracy is much lower among the immigrants than among their countrymen who remain at home. Illiteracy is generally the effect of poverty. The higher literacy of the immigrant may be accepted as evidence that economically the immigrant must be above the average of his mother country.

The complaint that the new immigrants do not easily "assimilate" is also as old as immigration itself. Today the Germans are reckoned by courtesy among the "English-speaking races." But as late as the middle of the nineteenth century the growth of German colonies in all large cities caused the same apprehension in the minds of their American contemporaries as the Jewish, the Italian, and the Slav colonies of our day. Statistics show, however, that the new immigrant races number among them as large a percentage of English-speaking persons as the

[1] By Isaac A. Hourwich, Statistian. From "Immigration and labor." Putnam. 1912.

Germans who have lived in the United States the same length of time.

The only real difference between the old immigration and the new is that of numbers. To the workman who complains that he has been crowded out of his job by another, it would afford little comfort to feel that the man who had taken his place was of Teuton or Celtic, rather than of Latin or Slav stock. The true reason why the "old immigration" is preferred is that there is very much less of it.

As stated, the demand for restriction proceeds from the assumption that the American labor market is overstocked by immigration. Comparative statistics of industry and population in the United States show, however, that immigration merely follows opportunities for employment. In times of business expansion immigrants enter in increasing numbers; in times of business depression their numbers decline. The immigration movement is further balanced by emigration from the United States. As a rule, the causes which retard immigration also accelerate the return movement from this country. It is customary to condemn the "bird of passage," but so long as there are variations in business activity from season to season and from year to year, the American wage-earner has no cause to complain of the immigrants who choose to leave this country temporarily while there is no demand for their services, thereby reducing unemployment in its acutest stage.

It is broadly asserted by restriction advocates that the hundreds of thousands of Slav, Italian, Greek, Syrian, and other immigrant mine and mill workers have been "imported" by capitalists—in other words, that they are all contract laborers. This belief offers to the student of folk-lore a typical example of twentieth century myth-building. None of the official investigations of immigration has disclosed any evidence of importation of laborers under contract on a large scale, although prior to the enactment of the law of 1885 excluding contract laborers there was no reason to conceal the fact. It is quite conceivable that in the case of a strike a great corporation might have resorted to the importation of a large force of strikebreakers regardless of cost. As a general rule, however, with hundreds of thousands of immigrants coming to this country annually, it would be a waste of money to "induce" immigration. The few actual violations of the contract labor law that elude the

vigilance of the immigration authorities cannot affect the labor market.

The real agents who regulate the immigration movement are the millions of earlier immigrants already in the United States. It is they that advance the cost of passage of a large proportion of the new immigrants. When the outlook for employment is good, they send for their relatives, or encourage their friends to come. When the demand for labor is slack, the foreign-born workman must hold his savings in reserve, to provide for possible loss of employment. At such times no wage-earner will assume the burden of providing for a relative or friend, who might for a long time be unable to secure employment. It is in this way that the business situation in the United States reacts upon the volume of immigration. The fluctuating supply of immigrant labor, like that of any other commodity, may sometimes outrun the demand and at other times lag behind it, yet, if we compare the totals for industrial cycles, comprising years of panic, of depression, and of prosperity, within the past sixty years, we find that the ratio of immigration to population has been well nigh constant. In the long run immigration adjusts itself to the demand for labor.

This proposition seems to be inconsistent with the presence at all times of a vast number of unemployed. Apparently, there are already more men than jobs in the United States; every new immigrant, in order to live, must take away the job from some one else who has been here before. On closer study, however, it is found that unemployment is not the effect of an absolute surplus population. It arises, notwithstanding a growing demand for labor, from the fluctuations in the distribution of the demand. The most generally recognized cause of unemployment is seasonal variation of business activity. There are trades dependent largely upon climatic conditions and partly upon social customs. In the period of maximum activity the demand for labor in such trades may often so far exceed the supply as to necessitate overtime work; yet this shortage of labor will not save a portion of the force from idleness at other times of the year. The only class of labor which is capable of shifting from one industry to another in response to variations in demand is unskilled labor. But the localization of industries sets a limit to the mobility of unskilled labor. In order to eliminate unemployment it would be necessary to dovetail the busy and the slack

seasons in the various industries upon such a plan as would produce an even distribution of the work of the nation over all seasons of the year. This might be possible if all mines, mills, and transportation lines were operated by one nation-wide trust. So long, however, as production is controlled by many competing employers, each subject to his own vicissitudes of business, insecurity of employment is inevitable. The normal state of every industry is to have a larger force than can ever find employment in it at any one time. The labor reserve is as much a part of the industrial system as the regular force.

Still, the labor market being normally overstocked, it sounds plausible that the immigrant, who is accustomed to a lower standard of living at home than the American workman, will be able to underbid and displace his American competitor. If this view were correct, we should find, in the first place, a higher percentage of unemployment among the native than among the foreign-born breadwinners. Statistics, however, show that the proportion of unemployment is the same for native and foreign-born wage-earners. The immigrant has no advantage over the native American in securing or retaining employment. In the next place, we should find more unemployment in those sections of the United States where the immigrants are most numerous. In fact, however, the ratio of unemployment in manufactures is the same in the North Atlantic states with a large immigrant population as in the South Atlantic states where the percentage of foreign-born is negligible. Coal miners are thought to have suffered most from immigration. Yet it appears that Pennsylvania, which is among the states with the highest percentage of foreign-born miners, has the second lowest percentage of unemployment. The highest ratio of unemployment, according to the latest published census data, was found in West Virginia, where the percentage of foreign-born miners was next to the lowest. A similar relation between unemployment and the proportion of immigrants is observed among cotton-mill operatives and common laborers: immigrants are not attracted to those states where opportunities for regular employment are less favorable.

Furthermore, if there existed a causal connection between immigration and unemployment, there should have been more unemployment in those years when immigration was greater, and vice versa. The figures show, on the contrary, that there

was less unemployment during the first seven years of the present century with immigration at a high tide than during the preceding decade when immigration was at a low ebb.

Still an oversupply of labor may produce a latent form of unemployment which could be described as underemployment: all employees may be kept on the rolls, and yet be idle a part of every week. Again, however, we find that the average number of days of employment per wage-earner increases as immigration increases, and declines as immigration declines.

The relation between immigration and unemployment may thus be summed up in the following propositions: Unemployment and immigration are the effects of economic forces working in opposite directions: those which produce business expansion reduce unemployment and attract immigration; those which produce business depression increase unemployment and reduce immigration.

Yet it may be said that while immigration is not a contributory cause of unemployment, restriction of immigration might nevertheless reduce unemployment. This supposition is negatived by the experience of Australia, where emigration exceeds immigration. Australia is a new country with an area as great as that of the United States, while its population at the census of 1906 was half a million short of the population of New York City at the census of 1910. Yet Australia has as much unemployment as the state of New York, which is teeming with immigrants. It is evident that unemployment is produced by the modern organization of industry even in the absence of immigration.

The effect of immigration upon labor in the United States has been a readjustment of the population on the scale of occupations. The majority of Americans of native parentage are engaged in farming, in business, in the professions, and in clerical pursuits. The majority of the immigrants, on the other hand, are industrial wage-earners. Only in exceptional cases has this readjustment been attended by actual displacement of the native or Americanized wage-earner. In the course of industrial evolution some trades have declined owing to the introduction of new methods of production. In such cases there was naturally a decrease of the number of native as well as of foreign-born workers. As a rule, however, the supply of immigrant labor has been absorbed by the increasing demand for labor in all industries without leaving a surplus sufficient to displace the

native or older immigrant wage-earner. There were but a few occupations which showed an actual, not a relative decrease of native Americans of native stock. This decrease was due to the disinclination of the young generation to follow the pursuits of their fathers; the new accessions from native stock were insufficient to replace the older men as they were dying off, and the vacancies were gradually filled up by immigrants. But for every position given up by a native American there were many new openings filled by native American wage-earners.

The westward movement of American and Americanized wage-earners and the concentration of immigrants in a few eastern and central states have been interpreted as the "displacement" of the English-speaking workmen from the mills and mines of the East by the new immigration. An examination of the figures shows, however, that during the past thirty years mining and manufacturing grew much faster in the West and South than in the East and drew some of the native workers and earlier immigrants from the older manufacturing states. But the demand for labor grew in the old states as well. The places left vacant by the old employees who had gone westward had to be filled by new immigrants.

The desertion of mills and factories by native American girls has also been explained as their "displacement" by immigrants. The motive assigned is not economic, but racial: it is the social prejudice against the immigrant that has forced the American girl to quit. It seems, however, that this explanation mistakes cause for effect: the social stigma attaching to working association with immigrants is not the cause but the effect of the desertion of the mills and factories by native American women. The pyschological interpretation overlooks one of the greatest economic changes that has taken place in the United States since the civil war: the admission of women to most of the pursuits which were formerly regarded as peculiarly masculine. For every native woman of American parentage who left the mill or clothing factory there were forty women of the same nativity who found new openings. The increase of the number of native American professional women was nearly five times as great as the decrease of the number of native American factory girls. The marvelous progress of the American educational system has fitted the native American woman for other work than manual labor and has at the same time opened to her a new field in which she does not meet the competition of the immigrant.

There is absolutely no statistical proof of an oversupply of unskilled labor resulting in the displacement of native by immigrant laborers. No decrease of the number of common laborers among the native white of native or foreign parentage appears in any of the great states which serve as receptacles for immigration. The same is true of miners. In none of the states affected by the new immigration has there been a decrease in the number of native miners. Such states as Pennsylvania and Illinois showed large increases in the number of native miners, both of foreign and native parentage. The iron and steel mills are another industry from which the recent immigrants are popularly believed to have forced out the native workmen and older English-speaking immigrants. The fact is, that in the earlier period of the industry, when immigration from southern and eastern Europe was negligible, the number of American employees increased very slowly; during the recent period, on the contrary, since the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe have been coming in large numbers, the number of American-born employees of every nativity has more than doubled. The increased employment of native Americans is recorded in the figures for every important iron- and steel-producing state, as well as for every city holding a leading place in the iron and steel industry.

The effect of immigration upon the occupational distribution of the industrial wage-earners has been the elevation of the English-speaking workmen to the status of an aristocracy of labor, while the immigrants have been employed to perform the rough work of all industries. Though the introduction of machinery has had the tendency to reduce the relative number of skilled mechanics, yet the rapid pace of industrial expansion has increased the number of skilled and supervisory positions so fast that practically all the English-speaking employees have had the opportunity to rise on the scale of occupations. This opportunity, however, was conditioned upon a corresponding increase of the total operating force. It is only because the new immigration has furnished the class of unskilled laborers that the native workmen and older immigrants have been raised to the plane of an aristocracy of labor.

Yet, while the number of native American workmen in all industries has increased, it is true that in some occupations there has been an actual decrease of the number of English, Welsh, Irish, and German workers, which has been construed as

"displacement" of Americanized workers by immigrants from southern and eastern Europe with a lower standard of living. This interpretation overlooks the fact that native workers of native parentage, presumably with as high a standard of living as the Irish, are found in the same occupations in larger numbers than formerly. Another fact that contradicts the popular view is the increase of the number of Scotch immigrants in those very occupations which show a decline in the number of English and Irish. Judged by any standard, the Scotch are not inferior to other immigrants from the United Kingdom. The increased employment of the Scotch in the principal occupations, including even common laborers, warrants the conclusion that the decline in the numbers of English and Irish must have been due to other causes than the competition of recent immigrants with lower standards of living. A further fact that must be considered in this connection is that the English, Welsh, and Irish farmers exhibit a greater decrease, both absolute and relative, than any other occupational group among the same nationalities. Evidently no new farmers came to fill the places of their countrymen who were carried off by death, although the aliens from southern and eastern Europe kept away from the farming sections and left the field open for English, Welsh and Irish immigrants.

The real explanation of the decrease in the number of immigrants from northern and western Europe in the occupations which rank lowest in the social scale is that the earlier immigrants have worked their way upward. Among the breadwinners born in northern and western Europe, farmers, business men, professional men, and skilled mechanics outnumber those who are employed in the coarser grades of labor. The latter have been left to immigrants from southern and eastern Europe.

But it is argued that the newly arrived immigrant must have work at once and is therefore glad to accept any terms. The Immigration Commission after a study of the earnings of more than half a million employees in mines and manufactures, has discovered no evidence that immigrants have been hired for less than the prevailing rates of wages.

The primary cause which has determined the movement of wages in the United States during the past thirty years has been the introduction of labor-saving machinery. The effect of the substitution of mechanical devices for human skill is the dis-

placement of the skilled mechanic by the unskilled laborer. This tendency has been counteracted in the United States by the expansion of industry: while the ratio of skilled mechanics to the total operating force was decreasing, the increasing scale of operations prevented an actual reduction in numbers. Of course this adjustment did not proceed without friction. While, in the long run, there has been no displacement of skilled mechanics by unskilled laborers in the industrial field as a whole, yet at certain times and places individual skilled mechanics were doubtless dispensed with and had to seek new employment. The unskilled laborers who replaced them were naturally engaged at lower wages. The fact that most of these unskilled laborers were immigrants disguised the substance of the change—the substitution of unskilled for skilled labor—made it appear as the displacement of highly-paid native by cheap immigrant labor.

To prove that immigration has virtually lowered the rates of wages, would require a comparative study of wages paid for the same class of labor in various occupations before and after the great influx of immigration. This, however, has never been attempted by the advocates of restriction. In fact, the chaotic state of our wage statistics precludes any but a fragmentary comparison for different periods. In a general way, however, all available data for the period of "the old immigration" agree in that the wages of unskilled laborers, and even of some of the skilled mechanics, did not fully provide for the support of the wage-earner and his family in accordance with their usual standards of living. The shortage had to be made up by the labor of the wife and children.

If the tendency of the new immigration were to lower the rate of wages or to retard the advance of wages, it should be expected that wages would be lower in great cities where the recent immigrants are concentrated, than in rural districts where the population is mostly of native birth. All wage statistics concur, however, in the opposite conclusion. Since the United States has become a manufacturing country average earnings per worker have been higher in the cities than in the country. The same difference exists within the same trades between the large and the small cities. Country competition of native Americans often acts as a depressing factor upon the wages of recent immigrants. This fact has been demonstrated in the clothing industry, in the cotton mills, in the coal mines, etc.

Furthermore, if immigration tends to depress wages, this tendency must manifest itself in lower average earnings in states with a large immigrant population than in states with a predominant native population. No such tendency, however, is discernible from wage statistics. As a rule, annual earnings are higher in states with a higher percentage of foreign-born workers.

The conditions in some of the leading industries employing large numbers of recent immigrants point to the same conclusions. In the Pittsburgh steel mills the rate of wages of various grades of employees have varied directly with the proportion of recent immigrants. The wages of the aristocrats of labor, none of whom are southern or eastern Europeans, have been reduced in some cases as much as 40 per cent; the money wages of the skilled and semi-skilled workers, two-thirds of whom are natives or old immigrants, have not advanced notwithstanding the increased cost of living, while the wages of the unskilled laborers, the bulk of whom are immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, have been going up.

Another typical immigrant industry is the manufacture of clothing. The clothing industry has become associated in the public mind with the sweating system, and since the employees are, with few exceptions, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, the conclusion is readily reached that the root of the sweating system is in the character of the new immigration. Yet the origin of the sweating system preceded the Jewish clothing workers by more than half a century. Throughout the second quarter of the past century native American and Irish women worked in the sweat shops of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia for only board and lodging, or even for board alone, depending upon their families for other necessities, whereas the Jewish factory girls of the present day are at least self-supporting.

In the cotton mills of New England the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the operatives were practically all of the English-speaking races, was a period of intermittent advances and reduction in wages; on the whole, wages remained stationary. The first years of the present century, up to the crisis of 1908, were marked by the advent of the southern and eastern Europeans into the cotton mills, and by an uninterrupted upward movement of wages. The competition of the cheap American

labor of the Southern cotton mills, however, tends to keep down the wages of the southern and eastern European, Armenian, and Syrian immigrants employed in the New England mills.

As a general rule, the employment of large numbers of recent immigrants has gone together with substantial advances in wages. This correlation between the movements of wages and immigration is not the manifestation of some mysterious racial trait, but the plain working of the law of supply and demand. The employment of a high percentage of immigrants in any section, industry, or occupation, is an indication of an active demand for labor in excess of the native supply. Absence of immigrants is a sign of a dull labor market.

## EFFECT OF IMMIGRATION ON MUNICIPAL POLITICS [1]

Properly, I presume, the subject of this paper ought to be the narrower one "the effect of recent immigration on elections in large cities," as I intend confining myself as strictly as the subject permits, to that field.

The effort to measure the effect of a particular class on so complex a question as that of the usual election in a large city, largely and naturally fails, through the fact that a class, large enough in itself to definitely influence an election result, is itself subject to so many differing exterior and contending influences that it is practically impossible ever to say didactically: this thing these particular people of themselves did because of themselves. I think we are beginning, too, to realize more and more the futility of attempting to say of any foreign people among us, that as a class they are wholly bad or wholly worthy, but to incline to judge them not as of a particular race or people, but as individuals, each with a separate responsibility. Nevertheless, there are two great elementary questions as to recent immigrants that persist, that are legitimate, and that to an appreciable extent can be answered:

First—How is our country preparing its city election machinery in relation to the present immigration? and

Second—How are our more recent immigrants adapting

[1] By William S. Bennet, Member, U. S. Immigration Commission, 1907-1910. National Conference for Good City Government. 109:142-7.

themselves to and availing themselves of our election situations as they find them?

The first is rarely asked, but is more important. Those who have read Mr. Steiner's description of the gang of newly-arrived aliens led illegally to vote by the working boss, recall his simple and vivid delineation of the contempt of our institutions instilled by that wrongful act. Much of our trouble in the past has sprung from the belief amongst newly-made citizens, justified by far too much evidence, that we ourselves have regarded elections as contentions to be decided not at all by argument, persuasion or reason, but by trickery, treachery, bribery, perjury, assault, forgery, deceit and even murder. It is not difficult to recall how recently the ordinary election was accompanied invariably by drunkenness and usually by riot; the partisan boards, in New York state at least; the polling places, practically in places where liquor was sold and the open, shameless buying and selling of votes. The new and impressionable citizen of even but twenty years ago had held out to him at election inducements to all that was worst in his character. If he held our elections and institutions lightly, we had ourselves to blame for it. Along the lines of better elections we have improved immensely. In our great city the election boards are bi-partisan. The secret ballot has made the buying of votes precarious merchandising; no polling place is now in a drinking place; public sentiment frowns on election-law violation; the average citizen resents electioneering, particularly on election day and near the polls; the workers therefore are fewer, there is rarely disorder and the day is relatively as peaceful as a Sunday. This is as it should be, the responsibility of the election, great on every individual, should be exercised amid surroundings which are at least respectable, serious and dignified.

The second question is partly answered by the answer to the first. Man moves much along lines of the least resistance, and the stranger adapts himself to conditions as he finds them. Make your elections riotous and corrupt and your new-made, foreign-born citizen riots and sells his vote with the native born; make the election day what it should be, the rigidly guarded place of the legal and formal expression of opinions formed on deliberation elsewhere, and you train your new citizen to thought and reason. Our most recent citizens of foreign birth are, in great cities, our most independent voters. This is quite natural. Many of us inherit both our politics and our religion. A very keen rep-

resentative in Congress said to me recently, that when a man in his district deserted his father's politics or his mother's religion, it was regarded as the first sign of insanity and that actually it frequently was. We have been trained also in partisanship through great discussions on real issues of the past. We may not entirely approve our own party in every detail, but we have a thorough conviction based on by-gone days that there is much that is worse in the other—this whether we are Democrats or Republicans.

The new citizen has neither political inheritance, prejudice nor scars of conflict. He votes always in the present, sometimes for the future, but never in the past. Being poor, it is quite true that when there is corruption, he is among those approached. Being ambitious, the lure of minor place sometimes weighs with him more than principle. But in the main he thinks. By our own progress we have done more for him than he will ever know. We have taught him that elections are properly approached through thought, and by making them fair, we are teaching him that thought and the expression of it are the most valuable possessions of the elector. The thinking voter necessitates the fit, or at least acceptable, candidate. Our recent New York City election gives us room for thoughtful study of the new citizen. In connection with this, it should be carefully borne in mind that in no great city is the naturalized voter a newly-arrived immigrant. Four or five of our states still permit aliens to vote, some immediately on filing declarations of intention, some on as short residence as six months, but none of these states contain one of our largest cities. In cities, then, the newly-made voter is a resident in this country, certainly for five and usually for more years, before he votes even for the first time. Candidates in foreign-speaking localities frequently address audiences, the majority of whom either by age or alienage are unable to vote. This has a distinct educational value for the future but advances a present election very little.

The 644,000 electors who had the right to participate in our recent election were, thus, either native born or having five years or more residence. Of the 644,000 who registered about 590,000 voted. These divided their votes roughly as follows: Gaynor, Tammany and Democrat, 250,000; Bannard, Republican and Fusion, 175,000; Hearst, 150,000. Four years ago the vote was Tammany 226,000, Hearst 224,000, Republican 137,000. Therefore this year both the Tammany and Republican candidates

gained at the expense of Hearst. The exact significance of this is immaterial and accounted for readily by a variety of causes. The important fact remains, that 150,000 voters, without particular leadership or organization, left party ranks and voted for an individual of their choice.

## IMMIGRATION: THE JOHNSON BILL[1]

In my judgment, the Congress is in this matter repeating its often-repeated blunder. It is alarmed by a condition which is not only temporary but greatly exaggerated. Exaggeration and excitement, always characteristic, have recently become violently epidemic. Let an alarm be sounded and newspapers immediately take it up; it goes from pen to pen and from mouth to mouth, increasing with each repetition in virulence and falsity, as does a neighborhood scandal. Soon everybody is swept off his feet. And so in this case the country has been led by excited propagandists to believe that our country is about to be overwhelmed by a countless horde of immigrants afflicted with incurable diseases and innoculated with the most vicious doctrines. Let me take just a moment to say that there has been no stage of American history when that same cry was not heard.

It was made against the Dutch when they came here and began to populate large portions of Pennsylvania; and even so wise a man as Benjamin Franklin, probably the wisest man this country has ever produced, declared, in substance, that the United States would be turned into a foreign province by the invading Dutch, and yet probably no better people ever lived anywhere than the Dutch immigrants and their descendants. Again declared when the Irish, in order to escape the intolerable conditions of their own country, fled to this land.

They were denounced as ignorant paupers. Many, indeed, were unlettered, for education had been denied them. Their schools had been destroyed and their teachers had been persecuted, so that the schools of Ireland were held in the secret depths of the forest, and thus came to be known as "hedge schools." It was also true that the Irish immigrant was in many instances a pauper in appearance; frequently he had scarce clothing for his back. He cut but a sorry figure at first. He had to

[1] By James A. Reed, in the Senate, February 19, 1921. Congressional Record. 60:3664-5. February 19, 1921. [Unbound.]

accept the most lowly occupations, and he did. Whereupon the hue and cry was raised against the Irish immigrant; against the Irish. Yet, sir, in America the sons and daughters of Ireland have written their names on every brilliant page of American history. The offspring of those who would have barred the Irish from our shores have found it very hard to keep peace with the descendants of the despised Irish immigrant.

Again the cry was raised when the tide of Bohemian immigration set in. There had been persecution and rebellion in Austria. Accordingly, the Slovaks for a time had come in great numbers. They arrived wearing their leather waistcoats and smoking their long pipes, their countenances grizzled with the agony of toil and ploughed deep with the furrow of hardship. At once self-appointed custodians of America cried out against these immigrants and prophesied the destruction of our country. The immigrant survived. He adopted American customs. He melted almost insensibly into our civic and political life. The descendants of these Bohemians to-day take their place in the ranks of our citizens and keep pace with the best there is.

Similarly, a cry was raised against the Swedish, the Norwegian, and the Danish immigrants; yet there sit in this Chamber to-day two men, one a Norwegian and one a Dane by birth. They came as immigrants. One of these distinguished public servants told me that when he landed here he possessed but a single dollar. He probably could not have qualified for entrance under the present immigration laws.

Attacks have likewise been made upon the Jewish people who have crowded to our shores. The spirit of intolerance has been especially active as to them. At this hour a man possessed of a mighty fortune, yet so illiterate and ignorant that it is seriously questioned whether he can write his own name, is instigating a propaganda against these people; but the Jew who came here, the victim of persecution and poverty, has nevertheless made his way in every avocation of life. At the bar and on the bench, in medicine, in art, in industry, in finance and science he has taken a high and honorable place. Those who would proscribe him are merely the advocates of medieval intolerance.

German immigrants came to this country in great numbers, and the same old cry was raised. Yet even at this hour, when the fogs of prejudice still hang thick in the skies of national opinion I hesitate not to say that the German immigrants to this country have added a sturdy strain to the American blood,

And so the cry goes on and on by those who happen just now to be here: "Behold us, the great and the mighty! See how pure are the currents of our veins! Are they to be contaminated by these foul bloods from abroad? Yet in their own arteries there flow the commingled bloods of the despised people of Europe—the same bloods you would bar to-day.

The proponents of this bill tell us we are about to be suddenly overwhelmed by a tidal wave of immigrants. A sort of a policy of know-nothingism is sweeping the country. It is the narrowest policy that ever cursed the soul of man. It is the policy of the gentleman who says, "I am the elect of God. I am specially ordained to preserve civilization. I alone have patriotism. Mine is the only soul capable of high aspiration. I have in my keeping the salvation and glory of the race and of the country."

But, sir, that has always been said, and it has always been said by those who fear competition more than those who are confident in their own greatness.

I have before my mind's eye a scene of not long ago. They were marching away, some of them volunteers, some of them drafted. But they were marching away all in the same brown uniform—the son of Ireland, with his blue eyes; the son of Scandinavia, with the flush of health in his cheeks; the son of Italy, whose warm clime had burned his face to a swarthy hue; the son of Scotland, with his clean limbs and his straight back; the son of Austria, with his big bones and double fists; the son of Germany, with his firm muscles and set jaw. Yet, as they marched away they were all Americans. Upon the battle field they bowed their backs and held their bayonets fixed and firm, they charged with indomitable hearts, they fought and died in the same heroic way for their flag and our flag, for their country and our country.

Who wants to keep them out? The man whose own ancestor perhaps landed here under more adverse circumstances; the man whose grandfather or great-grandfather happened to come a little earlier than the immigrant of to-day; some gentleman whose ancestor may have worked his way on a ship or came over a bound servant; the great-grandson, perhaps, of some man who bought his wife with long green tobacco upon the auction block. Who are these royal families of ours? They are the children of the oppressed lands of the earth. Their fathers came here barefooted or wearing wooden shoes, with homespun

on their backs, with the weight of twenty centuries of oppression upon their souls. They came in ignorance and superstition. They burned the witches in Massachusetts. They destroyed Catholic colonies. They drove Roger Williams into the wilderness. They set up the whipping post. They established the laws of Great Britain, with all their brutalities as well as their virtues.

And yet, in this free air, under these benign skies, with the star of hope shining in the zenith, they were shortly transformed into a wonderful people. Within a generation they became superb men and women. The common people of this land are better in blood, better in brawn, better in soul, and better in brain than the titled despots of the world; and yet you fear that a few more shall come!

If you had a reasonable bill, I would not oppose it. If you had a bill that temporarily put the brakes on to a reasonable extent, so that under the excitement of the hour there might not come so many people that we could not absorb them, I would not object; but when you talk of 5 per cent and 3 per cent of the people who are here, what kind of test is that?

If I had my way, I would establish in Europe courts or tribunals where the character of each emigrant could be examined, whereby we could become assured that he was sound in body, sound in mind, and sound in his principles, and then I would let him come. And every such man who came would be another man added to our man power; every soul that came would be a soul added to the aggregate soul of America; every heart that came would beat for our flag, and every hand would strike in its defense. This is a bill of proscription. It is as narrow as the Middle Ages. It is as obsolete as the spirit of the sixteenth century. It belongs to the time of the rack and thumbscrew, when the argument was the scaffold and when philosophy found expression in the torch of persecution. I decline to support such a bill.

## CONDITIONS OPERATING TO CHECK IMMIGRATION [1]

Notwithstanding the fact that with the return of peace there would naturally be a large increase in the tide of immigration as soon as the opportunity for passage was open, and the further

[1] Commercial and Financial Chronicle. 111:1338. October 2, 1920.

fact that millions of people in Europe would like to come over if they could, the Inter-Racial Council points out that certain obstacles stand in the way, and will operate as a check no matter what the demands may be in other countries. The Council continues.

Three of these conditions are: The increased cost of transportation, the literacy test and limited transportation facilities.

The cost of passage tickets has more than doubled, the head tax, which in 1882 was 50 cents, is now $8; every immigrant now has to pay $10 for an American consular vise. These increases are small compared with the falling exchange rate. The following tables show the difference in cost between 1913 and 1920:

*Comparative Costs in 1913 and 1920 for Transportation of One Immigrant, Including Passage, Consular Fees and Head Tax.*

| | 1913 | 1920 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Cost in foreign money when exchanged for American dollars at 1913 rate of exchange. | Present cost when immigrant exchanges foreign money for American dollars. | Depreciated value of immigrant's foreign money makes cost equivalent to |
| From: | | | |
| Copenhagen..... | $42.75 | $100.00 | $173.16 |
| Genoa..... | 39.80 | 98.00 | 372.40 |
| Hamburg..... | 34.00 | 125.00 | 1,437.50 |
| Helsingfors..... | 45.75 | 100.00 | 475.00 |
| Patras..... | 48.50 | 124.75 | 197.41 |
| Trieste..... | 39.80 | 109.50 | 2,847.00 |

The immigrant makes more "money" in Europe now than in 1913, though its value is much depreciated. If his present income figured the same as in 1913, an Italian could then have paid the passage of himself and eight friends for what a single passage costs now; an Austrian could have paid for himself and seventy-one friends.

Immigrants who do not live near the port of embarkation must pay more for railway travel and for extra consular fees for each country they pass through.

Making every allowance for whatever additional wages he may be getting over his pre-war income, the fact remains that an intending immigrant has to be a fairly well-to-do person to come here, unless, as is the case with many, he has friends or relatives here to help him out, or is aided by philanthropic organizations, as is the case of Jews from Poland.

The literacy test was adopted in the expectation that it would reduce immigration. There were always immigrants who could meet it, and they are the ones who will come first. It is too early to state what actual influence the test will have, but it is reasonable to suppose that it will debar a great many.

## THE MELTING POT IN AMERICA [1]

An examination of the legislation passed by Congress makes it clear that the idea of utilising in a scientific way the tremendous assets represented by the millions of immigrants who have

[1] New Europe. 15:142-4. May 20, 1920.

come to this country, has never received much consideration. The situation, as expressed by one Congressman, is that, having been presented with a very valuable gift, we have treated it with indifference and carelessness, and have exposed ourselves to the possibility either of its entire loss or of its deterioration. It is difficult at this time to induce Congress to create new boards or commissions requiring the expenditure of money, although a Board of Assimilation need not be a drain on the Treasury. It is evident that determined efforts will be made to prevent the repeal of the literacy test if it is proposed in the new immigration law now being considered by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalisation of the House. This is a short-sighted policy. The idea of the supporters of the literacy test is that, by limiting immigration, it will be possible to maintain higher wages. It is a simple economic fact that decreased production is a prime element in the increased cost of living, although this does not appear to be understood by certain classes of our citizens. In connection with the immigration law which is under consideration the suggestion has come from official quarters that there should be a provision for the rigid restriction of all aliens, as, by such a system, it would be possible for the Government to know at all times how many aliens there are and where located. The hope is also expressed by the proponents of this plan that attempts at Americanisation of aliens will be more productive of results. A word of warning may not be amiss. The alien who is subject to continuous official supervision and is compelled to register wherever he goes may feel suspicious and become imbued with the idea that Government officials are seeking to place him in a proscribed class.

In view of the attempt being made in Congress to suspend immigration for periods varying from two to fifty years it is interesting to notice that some corporations are beginning to consider the possibility of erecting plants in foreign countries where they can secure the labour which has been in the habit of immigrating to America. This policy is illustrated by the report that the Ontario and Argo mills in the Philadelphia territory have been purchased by Japanese interests. The textile machinery is being dismantled, and the whole is being shipped to Asia. The owners of the mills explain that they have had so much trouble with their labour that they are sick and disgusted. Production has been shot to pieces. The Japanese were not slow to take advantage of the situation. They cannot buy new spindles and

other general equipment in Japan, so they buy the entire mill and ship it to Asia. It is the plan of the Japanese buyers to send the twenty-one hundred tons of machinery to Shanghai, China. China has been one of the best markets for American cotton goods, and the Japanese are heavily interested in the Chinese mills.

The transfer of American wages earned by foreign-born workers to Europe is said to be considerably larger than ever before. During the war remittances were negligible. After the armistice there was a renewed movement, but this subsided as a result of the unsatisfactory methods of transfer. Lately, with more settled conditions, outflow of funds has resumed steadier movement. One banking house is reported to be making about four hundred transfers a day, averaging about $250 each, which would represent a rate of $36,000,000 annually through this one house. It is estimated half a billion is already being transmitted. Although the foreign-born wage-earner receives a greatly increased number of francs, marks or kronen for the dollar, the purchasing power of these units has depreciated so much that the transfer of actual wealth is very much less than it was in 1914. According to our information the New York savings banks are not greatly affected by these withdrawals, as the bulk of foreign-born depositors in New York savings institutions are persons with families in this country whose interests in economic life lie within the United States. In other large industrial centers, however, the foreign population is a transient one, and it is these immigrants who are sending their money abroad.

The competitors for immigrant labour that has been in the habit of coming to the United States have increased greatly since the armistice. For many years an average of about 100,000 have emigrated from this country to Canada. South American countries have always taken several thousand who otherwise would have made the United States their destination. Now, however, thousands of Poles are leaving Poland, not for America, but for France. Mexico, according to a report from Monterey, is seeking to raise the pay of its labourers in order to prevent their exodus into Texas and other southern states. In the northern part of Mexico mine managers are offering Mexican labourers their wages in American money, and offering to pay transportation to the works for all who desire to come. England is doing a great deal to prevent Britishers going anywhere but to British colonies. For months past American consulates throughout

England have been besieged by streams of Britons who sought information regarding the possibilities of making a living in the United States. The Colonial Under-Secretary expresses the feeling of the country when he says, "One Englishman who goes to the dominions is worth twenty times as much as one who goes outside." The Government has assured free transportation to demobilised men and their families if they go to the colonies before the end of 1920. The reverse side of this condition is to be found in the continued emigration of unskilled workers from our industries to their home countries. A report from Prague early this month states that more than 100,000 Czecho-Slovaks are expected there from the United States before the end of the summer, and the American Red Cross has been asked to make arrangements for their reception. It is anticipated in Czecho-Slovakia that they will greatly aid in the economic rehabilitation of the country because it is reported that their savings average $1,000 each. Italy has been putting forth official efforts to encourage emigration, but the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, speaking in the Chamber of Deputies in Rome early this month, remarked that France had given the best guarantees for the protection of Italian immigrants, and that the desirability of encouraging emigration to Brazil had been considered. In view of the permission granted by the United States Government to Russians to leave America for their home country, they are being urged by some of their newspapers to organise themselves into groups so as to make mass application for steamship accommodations and protect themselves from exploiters who, they assert, are to be found at the ports waiting to deprive them of their savings. All estimates agree that the Russian emigration will be very large.

A statement was given out this month by the Ellis Island officials intending to show that the emigration from America has been offset by new immigration, and that the population and industrial man-power has suffered but little. The Inter-Racial Council has publicly taken issue with the statement and the figures that were presented in a memorandum submitted to the press in which the following points were made:—

In 1914 immigration was increasing in volume steadily. Assuming that immigration and emigration would have continued at the 1914 rate, we would have received in round numbers 7,000,000 immigrants for the five-year period from 1915 to 1919 inclusive. And, at the rate of emigration for 1914, about

3,170,000 would have returned, so that we would have had an excess of immigration over emigration of more than 3,800,000. From 1915 to 1919 there arrived 1,612,743 persons and 1,180,859 departed from the country. Deducting the net immigration for the war period, amounting to about 430,000, the number shut out from America by the war was approximately 3,370,000.

In reaching its estimate that the industries are short from 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 immigrant workers, the Inter-Racial Council also considered the new basis of employment in many of the industries where larger forces are required as a result of the average reduction of the work day from a ten-hour to an eight-hour period. There are approximately 8,000,000 foreign-born wage-earners in manufacturing, mining, transportation and other industries. The more or less general acceptance of the eight-hour work day by industry has resulted in an approximate loss in "production man-hours" which represents the labour of from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 foreign-born workers. The industries have reported that it is almost impossible for them to get men, and that there has been a continuous drop in production.

## THE PROPOSAL TO SUSPEND IMMIGRATION[1]

Manufacturers throughout the United States believe that the Burnett Bill, now pending in the House of Representatives, to prohibit immigration from any but contiguous lands for a period of four years, is neither wise nor in accord with the principles of our Government. They further believe such action will hamper the future expansion of industry and agricultural development in many sections. After the present period of uncertainty in business passes over, our manufacturing leaders believe the domestic supply of labor will not be adequate to meet our needs.

The bill is a direct confession of our national failure intelligently to arrange for proper supervision and distribution of arriving immigrants. A much better solution of the matter would be the adoption of suitably restrictive legislation with immigrant distribution machinery on the new lines of Canada.

We have millions of acres of undeveloped lands in this country to which few, if any, of our returning 2,000,000 soldiers will emigrate. Why refuse admission to those immigrants from agricultural lands in Europe with these lands of our own still lying

[1] By Stephen C. Mason, President. National Association of Manufacturers. In American Industries for February, 1919. p. 7.

in disuse and our farmers badly in need of labor and the country in need of increased farm products? Furthermore, there are many industrial centers where the supply of unskilled labor is far below the demand, even now.

To shut off practically every avenue for new labor forces for the next four years is not squarely meeting an important problem of readjustment. It is creating possibly more grievous problems and conditions then those which it is sought to correct. We are weak, indeed, if, on the pretext of preventing the importation of one of Europe's war aggravated social diseases, known as rampant Bolshevism, the only remedy we can adopt is to prohibit the continued arrival of those still remaining healthy and vital forces of European labor which may come to our shores to escape the very social conditions in their own land which we, ourselves, dread.

The Burnett Bill is contrary to and in conflict with the avowed purpose of President Wilson to "make the world safe for democracy," through the medium of the League of Nations. Furthermore, it directly seeks to create a prohibitive labor tariff wall, so that while our Government leaders are proclaiming our ideals of "Democracy," an autocracy of labor may quietly be built up within our domain.

So far as that portion of our free institutions and form of government might apply to the immigrant, the Burnett Bill might logically contain the following clause as to purpose: "to extinquish the light in the hand of the Goddess of Liberty at the entrance to New York harbor for four years."

## IMMIGRATION [1]

A bill is before Congress to bar immigration for two years, but it is not likely that any new legislation on the subject will be enacted just now. War regulations are still restricting the entrance of foreigners. The leaders of labor are urging a ban on immigration, while the leaders of capital are proclaiming that there will be a shortage of labor in the near future unless the gates are kept open. Most of us will be unsympathetic to such obviously selfish arguments; the problem is one of national importance and demands unbiased consideration. It is also a world problem. The admission of multitudes of foreigners may relieve the pressure of population in the countries of origin, but

[1] Mining and Scientific Press. 120:927-8. June 26, 1920.

it is held by sundry economists that such emigration does not benefit those countries, largely because it stimulates an excessive birth-rate. The arguments for restriction are various. Time was when we needed help from across the Atlantic in order to develop our surplusage of natural resources; our population was too small for our patrimony; now most of the immigrants go to the manufacturing centres, rather than to the land, either agricultural or mineral. Most of them crowd into our cities, it is said. Meanwhile some of our people view with alarm the prospect of a destiny of population like that of the congested regions of Europe, because it would involve a lowering in the standard of living and a degradation of the national type, for, just now particularly, there is a widespread desire to hasten the Americanization of the unassimilated foreigner, rather than to add further to the mass of undigested elements in our population. The question follows, how much should immigration be restricted? We have the Chinese Exclusion Act and the "Gentleman's Agreement" with Japan. In 1917 the test of literacy was adopted by Congress, but it fails to exclude the most objectionable, namely, the half-educated unruly rejects of Europe, the men and women who too readily join the ranks of those that are opposed to any form of orderly government. An effort is made to exclude those manifestly diseased and those belonging to the criminal class, but complete discrimination is impracticable. Nor can we see how any tests can be devised that will be wholly effective. The advocates of restriction hold diverse opinions; some wish to exclude Asiatics; others, the Balkan peoples; some might carry their prejudice to the point of excluding Germans, or, dare we suggest, the Irish? Mr. Hearst, if he were logical, would bar the English from coming to a land their forefathers founded. Most ideas of exclusion when made specific are easily reduced to an absurdity. The most logical argument is that of the leaders of organized labor; they aim to exclude others like themselves in order to create a shortage of workmen and thereby increase the demand for their services. That is the expression of a perfectly intelligible policy based upon class-selfishness, but it has nothing in it that is patriotic in sentiment or national in spirit. It is true likewise that the capitalists desire to flood the labor market with the European horde, for reasons equally selfish. The professional class will detach itself from either party to the quarrel, preferring to face the problem with a larger mind and a more generous spirit.

What is best for the Nation? Shall the leading democracy of the world adopt a reactionary policy? What about the time-honored sentiment about an open door to the oppressed of every land? That generous policy has its political aspect, for it served to strengthen the young republic in the days when it needed greater security from foreign aggression. It has also an economic basis, for land was plentiful and an increase of population benefited all who were in the country. Another argument is that the incoming tide of humanity pushes itself underneath American labor and lifts it to a higher level, so that while the immigrant is bettered, our citizens are thrust to a more advantageous position. That reminds us of Francis A. Walker's statement that the great immigration during the thirty years preceding the Civil War had the effect of causing a marked decline in the birth-rate of the native stock, so that at the end of the thirty years the population "differed by less than 10,000 from the population that would have existed according to the previous rate of increase, without reinforcement from abroad". General Walker was superintendent of the ninth and tenth censuses. He attributed the fact just mentioned to the introduction of large numbers of European peasants, creating distinct social classes and producing a complete change in economic conditions. The native stock went above or under, mostly above, acquiring a larger measure of wealth and leisure. With the improvement in social status came a restriction of the birth-rate such as is characteristic of the propertied class everywhere. Undoubtedly the foreign born are more prolific than the descendants of the New Englanders and the Virginians. Those who gave us a rich heritage of democratic institutions are being displaced by the Slavic, Balkan, and Mediterranean peoples. But can we discriminate specifically against this or that race? It has proved difficult and dangerous, if not impracticable, as against the Japanese: could we discriminate by legislation, against any of the European countries, more particularly the young republics created by the reorganization that has resulted from the war? If we could, would we? Would it not be better to face frankly the task of making the best of the incoming alien, by educating him to the point of American citizenship, meanwhile deporting those who are blatantly opposed to our institutions? Shall we not lose by stopping all immigration? After all, the American people consists of immigrants and their descendants. In President

Wilson's cabinet were two immigrants, and the resignation of one of them does not depreciate his value as a citizen. Among the sanest leaders of labor there are two immigrants, Messrs. Gompers and Morrison. In every walk of life we find men born outside of the United States who came here to find a career, useful not only to themselves but to the country of their adoption. Congress includes a large number of foreign-born although the cynic may smile and suggest that the argument is a weak one. Be that as it may, it remains true, as President Wilson said in his message of January 23, 1915. "Exclusion, adopted earlier in our history as a nation, would very materially have altered the course and cooled the humane ardors of our politics. The right of political asylum has brought us to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his own less fortunate land, and who has yet become an ornament to our public counsels." This is not particularly well expressed, but it is the utterance of a representative man, a student of our history and an earnest thinker. Are we threatened with a big influx of foreigners? We doubt it. Prohibition will serve to deter many from coming; the creation of new countries and the enlargement of opportunity in the young republics of Europe will hold many that might otherwise have come here. Let us face our social problems with courage, confident in our ability to solve them, rather than shirk the responsibilities that our destiny has imposed upon us.

## PLAIN FACTS ABOUT IMMIGRATION [1]

In discussing immigration, a few plain facts are better than a million prejudices. The United States has always depended upon immigration. The unskilled labor that has done the digging, hauling, track laying in this country, is a reminder of the service rendered by the immigrants of the past. As the American children of immigrants have prospered, these descendants like other Americans, sought other and more attractive tasks. So one wave of immigration after another has followed with pick and shovel, pushing up the wave ahead to a better wage level, and in time being itself pushed up by still another wave.

[1] By William H. Barr, President, Inter-Racial Council. Blast Furnace and Steel Plant. 8:422. July, 1920.

And because there are so many more resources in the United States to be developed, the call for unskilled labor goes steadily on.

During the war, the net increase of immigration was negligible. Our people did a big war job, and a good one, but in doing it, other big jobs like the making of new rights of way. and the building of new homes had to wait. We are short of these things now, and never before have we realized the lack of them so keenly.

Almost everybody supposed there would be a tremendous rush from Europe when the war was over, not only because of our needs, but also because of conditions over there. The great rush has not come yet, though many of those who prophesied it would, do not seem to be aware of the fact. Already they are talking about the hordes of laborers that are going to swamp this country, and about the dangers that threaten us. We are gaining a little on immigration in numbers but we are losing, not gaining, on the number of unskilled male laborers.

As after every war, there has been a great deal of industrial unrest, and it has not been limited to any one class. These people that are afraid of immigration are the ones who attribute all the unrest to the foreign born. If a man cannot speak English, they seem to think he is an anarchist or something worse. For such a state of mind, the wonderful record of the foreign born in the United States, their military service, their enormous purchase of stamps and bonds, all count for nothing. It must be part of the post-war psychology. A lot of usually sensible people can work themselves up into a fury of suspicion and condemnation without reference to the real facts.

Of the foreign born immigrants in the country today, it may be said that as a whole, they are attending to their regular business. Among them here are, of course, professional agitators, although most of these are native born. But the general body of immigration is honest, industrious, and loyal, and it resents the suspicion and attack to which it is subjected. Immigrants are called by contemptuous nicknames. They are threatened in some states with the loss of their press, the only one they can read. In other states they are penalized, even to the extent of being denied the right of earning a living unless they become citizens, as though the sacred right of citizenship were something for barter—to be sought at the price of a job. It is questionable

Americanism to force this sacred right instead of treating it as a very special and splendid privilege open only to those who long for it.

These immigrant workers among us hear a lot about Americanization, but too often of the wrong kind. When a self-respecting laborer is talked to in the strain that a traveling evangelist might address the village drunkard, when his language, his people, and his customs are ridiculed, when the attitude towards him implies that he has neither an opinion worth expressing nor an intellect worth using, then, like any other person who earns his pay, he does not like it.

Immigrants are being subjected to mischievous propaganda all the time, and if they listen, it is usually because the people who are engaged in this propaganda talk to them as equals, as decent human beings, and not as objects for "uplift" treatment. If they are restive and resentful, it is because they feel they are misunderstood. But they would stand with us staunchly if trouble came, just as they did before. Of every hundred newspapers published in foreign languages in the United States, more than 90 are loyal to America.

Conditions in Europe are bad for a poor man, yet a great many of the immigrants here, who used to invite their relatives to come over, are now going back themselves. Those who are coming in are mostly women and children; those who are going over and the ships are filled, are for the most part strong, healthy men who would be good citizens anywhere. The "intellectuals," that is, the professional troublemakers, want to stay here, for their pockets prosper on a gospel of discontent. Incidentally, it may be remarked that these are the ones who are not kept out, and will never be kept out by any literacy test.

As to future immigration, the alarmists need not worry. If every ship available today were packed to a capacity on every trip for the next two years, they could not bring over here more than 1,500,000 for factories, farms and households, all of whom the country needs. And this assumes that not a single foreign born resident would leave here. Compare this with the falling off in immigration alone of more than 3,000,000 during the war, and talk about an "invasion" becomes absurd.

When Europe gets on its feet, the old political and religious oppression will have disappeared, or have been greatly reduced. True the countries there will be badly tax-ridden, but the

ordinary worker will not be the greatest sufferer. He can find abundant opportunity in Europe itself, for the devasted regions will need him and pay him well. Canada, Argentine, and Brazil are all working for the immigrant, and some of them are offering inducements. Of all the countries needing the immigrant, because of its undeveloped resources, ours is the only one that abuses him.

But this is the best country for the immigrant to come to, and notwithstanding the misrepresentation which they have suffered of late, most of them know it. Give them fair treatment and they would rather come here than go elsewhere. But it is not a question only of whether the immigrant shall be admitted. If we permit him to come, we shall have to assume certain responsibilities we have been neglecting in the past. We have never had any whole-hearted, nation-wide scheme of education Our tacit consent has permitted immigrants to be despoiled and exploited, for the most part by his kinsman, but in the face of our indifference. Like many other things, we have left the whole question of immigration to chance, and we are learning now that that method has its penalties. We must have a constructive policy on immigration.

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM [1]

Professor Henry P. Fairchild, in his newly published work on "Immigration" unlike most other recent restrictionist writers who have commonly followed in the wake of the Immigration Commission, out-heroding Gen. Walker, argues that until our Revolutionary War, we had practically no "immigration" at all, the arrivals being substantially all "colonists" of English or allied stock, Protestant in creed, and therefore homogeneous and English; that then our American institutions were established, and the immigrants who have since come over, being of other race or creed, have jeopardized our American institutions, economic, political, and social; and have merely prevented a corresponding or even greater native growth, which, presumably, because of the

[1] By Max J. Kohler, lawyer and author of numerous articles on immigration, Jewish and legal subjects. American Economic Review. 4:93-108. March, 1914.

"superior" English stock, would have accomplished far more than even the old immigration accomplished.

From historical investigations, however, we learn a different story. Bancroft, many years ago said: "The United States were severally colonized by men in origin, religious faith, and purposes as varied as their climes." Differences in language, customs, education, and views, on the one hand, and lack of assimilative agencies here, on the other, made the Germans, Swiss, Swedes, Dutch, and Irish immigrants coming over before 1881 no whit less easy to assimilate than are the new immigrants in our own day: and the extent and degree of these differences and difficulties were emphasized again and again, about sixty years ago, by Know-nothings and their predecessors, in substantially the same terms used by the restrictionists, in our own day. In the former period the "Teutonic stock theory" was not available as a test of desirability of immigrants, because members of this great stock were then being abused by the provincialists, but today, consistency presumably requires that the Irish be placed in the Teutonic class.

It is time that we turned to authorities who are familiar with the new immigrants in our midst, their past experiences here, and the agencies open to Americanize them, for light on this problem. Immigrants from nearly all of the various races from southern and eastern Europe have been settled here for many years, and we learn almost uniformly that there has been little difficulty in Americanizing and assimilating them.

When we turn, to a study of the genesis and potency of the agencies provided for the assimilation of the immigrant, his Americanization and improvement, we notice that nearly all have been developed during the past few decades, and were unavailable to the old immigrant. Even educational facilities for the immigrant were formerly most elementary and inadequate, while we have today night schools with special immigrant classes, social settlements and educational alliances, industrial, trade and vocational schools, instruction in civics, improved foreign newspapers, and public lectures in foreign language.

Federal and state bureaus of information for immigrants and resident laborers, employment bureaus, immigrant aid societies, immigrant service of the Young Men's Christian Association and of other church organizations, and such organizations as the

Italian Immigrant Bureau, the Industrial Removal Office, the Hebrew Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and other similar organizations throughout the land, do effective work in Americanizing the immigrant, finding employment for him at good wages, overcoming tendencies towards congestion, effecting distribution, and promoting acquisition of American standards of living and thinking. Of course, such agencies deserve and require unlimited extension and development; and in a number of our states, regulative legislation is badly needed, especially as applying to mining and labor camps.

In the light of these agencies the unbiased student cannot but conclude that the assimilative process today, even among the newer races in question, is far more potent than it was in the old immigration. Mr. Bryce, in the new edition of his "American Commonwealth" sums up the philosophy of this process:

> The point in which the present case of race fusion most differs from all preceding cases, is in the immense assimilative potency of the environment. . . . The effigy and device, so to speak, which the American die impresses on every kind of metal placed beneath the stamp, is sharp and clear. The schools, the newspapers, the political institutions, the methods of business, the social usages, the general spirit in which things are done, all grasp and mould and remake a newcomer from the first day of his arrival, and turn out an American far more quickly and more completely than the like influences transform a stranger into a citizen in any other country. These things strengthen the assimilative force of American civilization, because here the ties that held the stranger to the land of his birth are quickly broken and soon forgotten. His transformation is all the swifter and more thorough because it is a willing transformation.

William D. Howells has said: "I believe we have been the better, we have really been the more American, for each successive assimilation in the past, and I believe we shall be the better, the more American, for that which seems the next in order." Mr. Bryce also suggests that nearly all "the instreaming races are equal in intelligence to the present inhabitants;" that a blending of races tends to stimulate intellectual fertility; and that the Jews, Poles, and Italians are likely to "carry the creative power of the country to a higher level of production" than it has yet reached. He also notes that "today, most of the hard, rough toil of the country is everywhere done by recent inhabitants from central or southern Europe. The Irish and the urban part of the German population have risen in the scale, and no longer form the bottom stratum." As to attempted comparative valuations of races, we should not forget Professor Royce's scathing analysis of the phenomenon in his "Race Questions and

Provincialism and Other American Problems." It is in initiating and developing salutary public and private agencies for distributing and Americanizing aliens, that a true solution of the immigration problem can be found.

## AMERICAN IDEALS AND RACE MIXTURE [1]

The rapidity with which the democratic ideas are taken on by immigrants under the influence of our institutions is remarkable. I have personally had experiences with French-Canadians, Portuguese, Hebrews, and Italians. These races have certainly taken advantage of their opportunities among us in a fashion to promise well for their final effect upon this country. The French-Canadian has become a sufficiently good American to have given up his earlier programme of turning New England into a new France—that is, into a Catholic province or of returning to the Province of Quebec. He is seeing something better than a racial or religious ideal in the freedom of American citizenship; and on one or two occasions, when he had political power in two municipalities, he refrained from exercising it to the detriment of the public-school system. He has added a gracious manner and a new feeling for beauty to New England traits.

The Portuguese have taken up neglected or abandoned New England agricultural land and have turned it to productive and valuable use. Both the French-Canadian and the Portuguese have come to us by way of the New England textile mills.

The actual physical machinery of civilization—cotton-mills, woolen-mills, iron-mills, etc.—lock up a great deal of human energy, physical and mental, just as one hundred years ago the farms did, from which later sprang most of the members of our dominant industrial class. A better organization of society, by which machinery would do still more and afford a freer play for mental and physical energy and organization, would find a response from classes that are now looked upon as not contributing to our American culture; would unlock the high potentialities in the laboring classes, now unguessed and unexpended.

[1] By Percy Stickney Grant, Pastor, Church of the Ascension, New York. North American Review. 195:513-25. April, 1912.

The intellectual problems and the advanced thinking of the Hebrew, his fondness for study, and his freedom on the whole from wasteful forms of dissipation, sport, and mental stagnation, constitute him a more fortunate acquisition for this country than are thousands of the descendants of colonial settlers. In short, we must reconstruct our idea of democracy—of American democracy. This done, we must construct a new picture of citizenship. If we do these things we shall welcome the rugged strength of the peasant or the subtle thought of the man of the Ghetto in our reconsidered American ideals. After all, what are these American ideals we boast so much about? Shall we say public schools, the ballot, freedom? The American stock use private schools when they can afford them; they too often leave town on election day; as for freedom, competent observers believe it is disappearing. The conservators and believers in American ideals seem to be our immigrants. To the Russian Jew, Abraham Lincoln is a god. If American ideals are such as pay honor to the intellectual and to the spiritual, or foster human brotherhood or love culture and promote liberty, then they are safe with our new citizens who are eager for these things.

Not only do these races bring with them most desirable qualities, but they themselves are subjected to new environment and strongly influential conditions. Just here arise duties for the present masters of America. Ought they not to create an industrial, social, and educational environment of the most uplifting sort for our foreign-born citizens?

If working-people are obliged to live in unhealthful tenements situated in slums or marsh land, if the saloon is allowed to be their only social center, if they are fought by the rich in every effort to improve their condition, we may expect any misfortune to happen to them and also any fate to befall the state.

What improved *milieu* can do to improving the physique is easily seen on all sides. The increase in the height and weight of Americans in the last few decades is conspicuous. Even the size of American girls and boys has increased, and this increase in size is commonly attributed to the more comfortable conditions of life, to better food, and especially to the popularity of all forms of athletics, and the extension, as in the last twenty-five or thirty years, of the out-of-door and country life. If these factors have made so marked and visible a change in the

physique of the children of native-born Americans, why may not the same conditions also contribute an improvement to the more recent immigrant stock?

Our question, then, as to the effect of race mixture is not the rather supercilious one: What are we admitting into America that may possibly injure American ideals? but, What are the old American races doing to perpetuate these ideals? And is not our future as a race, largely by our own fault, in the hands of the peasant races of Europe?

Indifference, prejudice, illiteracy, segregation of recent immigrants by parochial schools, by a native colonial press, bad physical and social environment, and the low American ideals of citizenship held by those the immigrant sees or hears most about, obstruct race assimilation; but all these can be changed. Yes, it is the keeping up of difference and class isolation that destroys and deteriorates. Fusion is a law of progress.

Every act of religious or civil tyranny, every economic wrong done to races in all the world, becomes the burden of the nation to which the oppressed flee for relief and opportunity. And the beauty of democracy is that it is a method by which these needs may freely express themselves and bring about what the oppressed have prayed for and have been denied. Let us be careful not to put America into the class of the oppressors. Let us rise to an eminence higher than that occupied by Washington or Lincoln, to a new Americanism which is not afraid of the blending in the western world of races seeking freedom. Our present problem is the greatest in our history. Not colonial independence, not federal unity, but racial amalgamation is the heroic problem of the present, with all it implies in purification and revision of old social, religious, and political ideals, with all it demands in new sympathy outside of blood and race, and in a willingness to forego old-time privileges.

## IMMIGRATION [1]

I hope it is not necessary for me to state to you that I have the interest of my country at heart and that it is not my intention to do anything that would operate injuriously to the welfare of our

[1] Speech of Hon. Adolph J. Sabath, of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, Friday, December 10, 1920. Congressional Record. 60:730-3. December 23, 1921 [unbound].

Nation. I wish to also assure you that I am just as serious as any Member of this House in the desire to keep out every undesirable. The chairman of the Immigration Committee, I am sure, will bear me out when I say that I have at all times cooperated with the committee in preparing, aiding, and advocating legislation that would make it possible not only to eliminate the immigration of the undesirables, but also to strengthen our deportation law. The gentlemen from Minnesota, Kentucky, and Texas charge that the present immigration is undesirable and that the sections of this country to which this immigration goes are suffering from unemployment and lack of housing facilities.

Mr. Chairman, the charges that are being made against the present-day immigration are by gentlemen who come from sections who receive no immigration and who are not in position to know as much about that question as those who come from and live in the cities and in the States that absorb most of the present-day immigration. Is it not singular that up to this moment not a single gentleman coming from our great cities or our great States who, I am sure, are better acquainted with the immigration question than those from the rural districts, has said a word in behalf of this legislation; but on the contrary, like myself, feel it is hasty, uncalled for, unnecessary, and unjustified.

The people coming to-day are coming for the same purpose as those who came 100 years ago. . . . Mr. Chairman, a few years before the war the gentleman and others questioned the loyalty of those people who were coming then, and I am proud to say that those very people demonstrated that they were as loyal and as patriotic as any.

They enlisted and fought side by side with the American born and in a way that won for them praise and admiration of all who were in position to see and hear of their many heroic deeds.

Mr. Chairman, the arguments in favor of this bill and the charges that are being made were made over 100 years ago. The restrictionists of those days classed the people coming to this country then as undesirable and favored their exclusion. The same arguments were made as to the tendency of the immigrants to congest in the cities, and it was maintained that the effect of immigration was to reduce wages and lower the standard of living.

Mr. Chairman, some of the supporters of this bill have maintained that our country is becoming too thickly populated, that

we already have within our borders nearly all the people we can accommodate, and that for this reason it is imperative that immigration be restricted. This statement, like so many others emanating from the opponents of immigration, is misleading. The fact is that in 1910, according to the Bureau of the Census, the density of population of the United States, or, in other words, the average number of people per square mile throughout the United States, was only 30.9. Contrast this average density with that of some of the individual States, such as Illinois, with a density of 100.6; Ohio, with a density of 117; Maryland, with a density of 130.3; Pennsylvania, with a density of 171; Connecticut, with a density of 281.3; and Massachusetts, with a density of 418.8. They talked of this country being overcrowded. Why, 125 years ago the density of population of Maryland was greater than that of the United States to-day.

These restrictionists talk about our country becoming too thickly settled. Let us consider some of the European countries. In Germany we find there are approximately 312 people to very square mile; in Italy, 315; and in the United Kingdom, 374. Just think, gentlemen, with a population of only 300 to the square mile this country could support over 900,000,000. Is it not the height of absurdity to claim that immigration should be restricted because we have no room for these people?

Mr. Chairman, it also has been stated by those favoring the passage of this measure that the immigrants all flock to the large cities, there to increase the present congestion. This is not true. It may be a fact that these immigrants go, first, to the cities, but their residence there is only temporary. Gentlemen, I state without fear of contradiction, that there is nothing closer to the heart of the immigrant than his desire to become possessed of a piece of land which he can call his own, and he does this at his first opportunity. Hundreds—yes, thousands—of these people are leaving the cities each year and settling on farms. The statistics will show that a large percentage of the people residing in the rural districts of the northern, western, and northwestern sections of our country are of foreign birth or foreign parentage.

I have before me figures taken from a report of the Bureau of the Census which shows that in 1910 in the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania 31 per cent of the rural population was of foreign birth or foreign parentage; in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin 32 per cent was of

foreign birth or foreign parentage; in Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas 40 per cent of the people residing in the rural districts were of foreign birth or foreign parentage; in Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada we find the percentage the same—40 per cent of the rural population is foreign born or of foreign parentage; and, lastly, in the States on the Pacific coast—Washington, Oregon, and California—we find that over 42 per cent of the people who are making their homes on the farms are of foreign birth or of foreign parentage.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, I ask you if this is not proof that the immigrants do go on the farm; that they do not all remain in the larger cities?

For the further edification of the gentlemen who are of the opinion that this influx of immigrants is harmful to our country, I wish to read some additional statistics taken from a report of the Director of the Census, which show that in the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin 75 per cent of the farm land is improved, whereas in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida but 46.7 per cent is improved. In the States of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas 70.6 per cent of the farm land is improved, as contrasted with 53.9 per cent in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi.

Mr. Chairman, from the hasty statements made by a number of gentlemen it would appear that there is no law against immigration and that all aliens can come in without restraint, regulation, or examination. Our present laws are strict enough in every respect. We now exclude idiots, imbeciles, feebleminded persons, epileptics, insane persons, paupers, persons likely to become public charges, professional beggars, persons afflicted with tuberculosis or a loathsome or contagious disease, persons mentally or physically defective, persons who have been convicted of a crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude, polygamists, anarchists, prostitutes, contract laborers, assisted aliens, and all who are admitted must have passports viséed by our consuls in the respective countries from which they come.

Mr. Chairman, it is to be regretted that so many Members of this House should be misled by false statements relative to the tremendous number of immigrants coming to the United States.

The only justification for such statements is due to wild, unreliable articles from men who willfully double and in some cases quadruple the number of immigrants that are coming. I regret that even the committee, due to the haste in preparing their report, should have fallen a prey to these erroneous, yes, false and misleading, articles. These statements and articles emanate from sources whose only aim is to mislead, prejudice, and alarm the American people. I have in my hands a report from the Secretary of Labor and of the Commissioner General of Immigration, which is marked "confidential," and which is not to be released until the 16th of this month. This report shows that for the fiscal year 1919 the total immigration to the United States was 237,000, while the number of aliens who departed was 216,000, an increase only of 20,790. The same report for the fiscal year 1920, which ended June 30, 1920, shows that the total immigration amounted to 621,000 and that 428,000 departed, a total increase in the fiscal year 1920 of 193,000, and the majority of these are the wives and children of our own citizens and of those who have filed their declaration of intention of becoming American citizens.

These gentlemen are endeavoring to make the country believe that within the last few months millions of immigrants have come to our shores. I hope that the membership of this House will not rely upon the willful misstatements and articles of professional propagandists and paid lobbyists, but will investigate carefully all statements coming to them from such sources.

From the same sources come wild statements of the great unemployment which they variously estimate from two to four millions. These statements are just as unfair as those in regard to the millions of incoming immigrants. I maintain, though this is the slackest and dullest time in the year and that, due to the financial depression created by certain interests, there has been a lull in some of our industries and some lay offs of employees, in a majority of cases it will be found that it has been done not because there is not enough work on hand but for the purpose of forcing down wages. It has been noticed in many instances within the past 10 days or two weeks that where lay offs have occurred the men have been reengaged wherever possible at a lower scale of wages.

During the months of December, January and February we always find some people unemployed. This is due to the fact

that many industries are at a standstill in the winter months, and to the further fact that thousands of farm employees, having no work on the farms, come to the large centers to seek employment during that period. But even with the influx from the farms and with the lay offs from some of the industries, I find in every newspaper of the large cities that there are three times as many advertisements for help as there are advertisements for situations wanted. Even if people are out of employment in certain sections of our country, I am satisfied that within three months there will be a greater shortage of labor than has been experienced during the summer of 1919 and 1920.

In the current number of the American Federationist, Mr. Gompers, the veteran head of the American Federation of Labor, says:

> The world needs production. The employers have been saying so for months. They began with the armistice and continued until a few days ago. Now they have stopped saying so.
>
> The reason is not that the world's needs have been satisfied. The reason is twofold: Inflation is coming out of the business structure, and in the process employers see what they believe to be an opportunity to cut wages, though there has been no inflation in wages; secondly, the more unscrupulous employers believe that by laying off workmen with an announcement of curtailment necessities, the same or other workmen can be hired within a brief time at a sufficient wage reduction to make the temporary reduction justifiable from a profit point of view.

The following extract of a communication to me from the National Federation of Construction Industries speaks for itself:

> It is evident that a proportional relationship exists between our national requirements for skilled labor and unskilled labor, over which we have no control except insofar as our inventive genius may devise tools of production by which the effort of labor is made more effective. Experience has shown that the law of supply and demand applies in employment the same as in the material market. If the supply of unskilled labor in the United States begins to exceed its proportional relationship to skilled labor, immigration automatically adjusts itself because of the decreased demand for unskilled labor. Any attempt artifically to regulate the fundamental law of supply and demand in the labor market through the restriction or stoppage of immigration can result only in national disaster; for it will be seen that, if immigration were to be stopped, the necessary proportion which must exist between skilled and unskilled labor, without which industry can not survive, could be maintained only by a curtailment of production to permit demotion of labor into unskilled capacities in sufficient numbers to restore the balance which must be maintained between skilled and unskilled labor. The direct result of such curtailment of industry would be disastrous to our national welfare for the reason that the law of supply and demand as it relates to commodities would operate to obtain a higher price level because of decreased production.

Mr. Chairman, in the interest of those who are so unduly alarmed as to the conditions and prosperity of our Nation,

I have hastily prepared a statement which, if closely studied by these alarmists, will allay their fears as to the future and will compel them to wonder at the great strides our Nation has made in the last 50 years. It shows that though our population has increased threefold our wealth has increased sixfold, our exports twentyfold, and that the value of farm products has increased nearly tenfold. I regret that I have not been in position to secure the complete statistics, but I insert those which I have been able to secure:

*Statistical statement comparing conditions in 1870 and 1910 with those of the latest available year.*

| | 1870 | 1910 | 1919 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Population | 38,558,371 | 92,174,515 | 106,736,461 |
| Wealth | $30,068,518,000 | ..... | [1] $187,739,071,090 |
| Money in circulation | $676,284,427 | $3,102,355,605 | $5,766,029,973 |
| Per capita | $17.51 | $34.33 | $54.33 |
| Individual deposits in all banks | $2,182,512,744 | $15,283,396,251 | $32,703,114,000 |
| Deposits in savings banks | $549,874,358 | $4,670,486,247 | $5,902,577,000 |
| Imports, total | $435,958,408 | $1,556,947,430 | $3,095,720,068 |
| Exports, total foreign and domestic | $392,771,768 | $1,866,258,904 | $7,920,425,990 |
| Manufactures for use in manufacturing, exported | $13,711,708 | $267,765,916 | $922,401,664 |
| Manufactures ready for use, exported | $56,329,137 | $499,215,329 | $2,563,350,160 |
| Manufactures, total (except foodstuffs) exported | $70,040,845 | $766,981,245 | $3,485,751,824 |
| Farms and farm property, value | $8,944,857,749 | $40,991,449,090 | ..... |
| Manufactures produced, value of | $4,232,325,442 | ..... | [2] $24,246,434,724 |
| Wages paid in manufacturing | $775,584,343 | ..... | $4,079,332,433 |
| Spindles in operation | 7,132,000 | 28,267,000 | 34,931,000 |
| Coal mined (tons) | 29,496,054 | 447,853,909 | 605,546,343 |
| Petroleum produced (gallons) | 220,951,290 | 8,801,404,416 | [3] 14,948,964,072 |
| Pig iron produced (gross tons) | 1,665,179 | 27,303,567 | [3] 39,054,644 |
| Iron and steel manufactures, exported | $13,483,163 | $179,133,186 | $968,520,154 |
| Railways, mileage in operation | 52,922 | 249,992 | [4] 266,059 |

[1] 1912. [2] 1914. [3] 1918. [4] 1917.

Mr. Chairman, for several days I have been striving to ascertain the source of the misinformation that has been used in arguments in behalf of this measure, and not until to-day have I been able to find that they are based principally upon an article written a few days before the election by Frederick Boyd Stevenson. It purports to be an interview with Commissioner Wallis, who, the writer states, has revolutionized Ellis Island. It undoubtedly is from this article that the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization and the other members of the committee who are advocating this bill secured their inspiration and information. I do not desire to

make any charges or even insinuations as to why the interview was given or printed two days before the election, but I do charge that the gentlemen in using some of the guess figures of the contemplated or expected immigration and some paragraphs bearing on the class of immigrants were unfair not only to this House and the country but also to the commissioner. I make this statement because they have only used the most prejudicial statements and figures, ignoring completely whatever may have been stated in explanation.

The writer of the article states that of the 430,000 immigrants, 173,000 have no occupation, but he also states that 182,000 were women and children. Does he expect that all the women and children should have an occupation? He also lays great stress on the point that among these 430,000 immigrants an old woman 70 years of age came to a son, who had a wife and five children, and that should the son die, the five children, who no doubt were born in this country, and the wife and mother would become dependent upon charity. He does not know whether the son had property of his own, or whether the children may be of an age to earn their own living. In response to that statement I can not help calling attention to the fact that neither the commissioner nor the writer can point out many cases of those who become charges or dependent upon charity, and he will not find a single one of the Jewish race in a public charitable institution.

The gentlemen who have favored the passage of the bill and who have quoted from this article so frequently have failed to quote the commissioner when he stated that he is not a believer in the illiteracy test, and that a man may not know one letter from another but still make an honest and useful citizen. I wonder why they have not read that paragraph?

In conclusion, I will suggest that some of these gentlemen from the Southern States who so strongly favor shutting the doors of immigration for 10, 20, or a longer period of years should read the evidence given by the cotton growers and sugar-beet growers and others when they appeared before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization at the last session of Congress, appealing for the suspension of the immigration laws to enable them to secure labor to pick the thousands of acres of cotton and to harvest the sugar-beet fields, which they claimed they could not do unless a permit was granted to import

illiterate Mexican laborers. I also suggest that they read the article which appeared in the Washington Star on December 9, which I also take the privilege of inserting in the RECORD.

FIGHT IMMIGRATION BAN—SOUTHERN BUSINESS INTERESTS TO OPPOSE ACTION BY CONGRESS

NEW ORLEANS, *December* 8.

The general immigration committee, which was recently formed by representatives of various interests in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi, met here to plan a vigorous fight on proposed congressional legislation restricting or barring immigration into the United States for the next few years.

Resolutions were adopted urging the board of directors of the New Orleans Association of Commerce to take prompt action in opposing the Johnson bill, which proposes to stop all immigration for two years. The committee also asked the board to take action in connection with any other bill which may at any time be introduced in Congress that will in any way limit or restrict the amount of farm labor that might be available for this country.

I also will read from the booklet just issued by the Federal Trade Information Service the following:

The most valuable asset any country has is its people; indeed, without population no country has any value. The changes which take place with the advance of years in the distribution, character, and occupation of a country's inhabitants properly may be considered the most important changes, of any nature whatsoever, which enter into national experience.

The growing supremacy of the United States among the nations of the world has resulted from the ever-changing distribution of its population. Had the American people remained through the decades within a few restricted areas near the seaboard, the vast natural resources of the land would not have been brought forward to serve, not only our own people but the whole world.

Mr. Chairman, were it not for the fact that I do not desire to abuse the privilege granted me I could insert hundreds upon hundreds of other letters, resolutions, and articles that have come to me within the last few days, protesting against the enactment of this pending legislation, but I have not heretofore and shall not now abuse the privilege. I also realize that it matters not what additional arguments, facts, and proofs I might submit it will have no possible effect upon the prejudiced membership of this House. As stated before, I feel that the Senate will not be carried away by this hysteria and pass the bill in its present form, but if that body should fall a prey to the propaganda now being carried on for this bill, I feel that President Wilson, who history will accredit as the greatest Executive, statesman, and humanitarian, will, without doubt, refuse to approve such legislation.

## IMMIGRATION AND INTERNATIONALISM [1]

When the Sixty-fifth Congress adjourned, on March 4, there was pending in that body a bill prohibiting immigration into the United States for four years. That bill, in consequence of the adjournment, is dead, but there is every reason for anticipating that an identical bill, or one with substantially equivalent provisions, will be introduced in the Senate or House when the new Congress convenes. When the proposal reappears, however, its supporters and opponents will have to take account of an argument which, while clearly enough foreshadowed at the time when the former measure was under consideration, was not sufficiently developed to make it a determining factor in the discussion. That argument is internationalism. It makes little difference whether or not President Wilson succeeds in carrying the country with him in support of the resolution of the Peace Conference, or whether the plan of a League of Nations to which the Senate will be asked to give its approval is the original scheme promulgated by the Peace Conference or a modified draft such as the newspapers are busily discussing. What has been set going in the world is the idea of international organization, international action for the furtherance of world happiness, and international comity; and it is in the light of this overshadowing idea that the question of immigration must eventually be judged.

Nothing will be gained, when the question again comes up, by reciting the familiar arguments for or against the restriction of immigration. If we leave out of the account the insane, the feeble-minded, the physically helpless, and those convicted of non-political offences—classes which each nation may properly be asked to care for for itself—the arguments in favor of restriction rest ultimately upon one or other of two grounds. The first is the assumption that every nation has the right, in the nature of things, to determine who shall or shall not enter or reside in its territory, and to keep the opportunities of its economic or social life to itself. The second is the assumption that the nations of the world are not equal, that some peoples are a "menace" to others, and that differences of race are an insurmountable barrier to economic assimilation or social equality. The first of these assumptions is at the bottom of every restriction of immigration which professes to protect American labor

[1] Nation. 108:540. April 12, 1919.

from foreign competition; the latter underlies every contemptuous reference to "foreigners" as of another and lower breed, every worked-up cry of alarm at the "menace" of "low-grade" labor from abroad, every restriction upon the entrance of Chinese or Japanese or upon their life while here.

It will be interesting to see how those who have been eagerly proclaiming their acceptance of Mr. Wilson's doctrines of democracy and human brotherhood, and who now appear to be at least as anxious that the world shall have a League of Nations as they are that it shall have a just and durable peace, will treat the subject of immigration when the question is once more before Congress and the country. As a matter of fact, neither of the assumptions just referred to squares with internationalism. We have objected to the Paris plan of a League of Nations because, among other things, it provides for a league of Governments and not for a league of peoples; because it has been framed in secret by a self-constituted group of titular heads of four great Powers, without consultation with the representatives of other Governments, neutral or belligerent, and without mandate even from their own people; because the Governments whose spokesmen have framed the League will dominate it; and because the special claims of right or privilege which in the past have either helped to set nations against one another or have negatived the idea of national equality are, apparently, to be respected and continued. This is no true internationalism, but only a novel scheme of inter-Allied nationalism; and from such ingenious devices for keeping up appearances the awakened peoples of the world have now turned away.

The bearing of this upon the particular question of immigration is clear. If Congress has comprehended the new international spirit which now everywhere pervades, and is genuinely in sympathy with it, it will have done with putting up the bars. Even the game of politics must, in the long run, be played fairly if politics itself is not to be hopelessly discredited. The very idea of internationalism, and hence of every proper scheme of a League of Nations, implies the right of the citizens of every member of the League to unrestricted admission to the territory of every other member, and to equal freedom of residence or occupation therein; so only that they obey the law of the jurisdiction in which they happen to be, and contribute by physical or intellectual labor to the welfare of the community. Anything

less than this belongs to the narrow and selfish nationalism which the world has outgrown.

The same is true with the assumption of inequality. Just as there can be no lasting federation of nations if the few that are strong are to dominate the many that are weak, so there can be no true internationalism if the right of free migration is to be denied or seriously curtailed. Of all the mockeries which have hindered the growth of a genuine international spirit in this country, those of "lower standards" and the "menace of cheap labor" have been among the worst. If all the descendants of foreigners who came to the United States in poverty, and who gladly took the first job they could find at any wages the employer would pay, were to be disfranchised, some exceptionally prominent American families would lose their voting privilege. To possess superior advantages and deny to others the opportunity of sharing in them; to hold in poverty, ignorance, and suffering, through oppressive conditions of employment, wretched housing, and poor schools, men and women of foreign birth whose labor is adding daily to our wealth; to lump together contemptuously as "foreigners" all whose native language is not English; or to determine the social worth of a man by the color of his skin, is not only snobbish and anti-social in the individual, but anti-international and socially destructive in the nation. Now that most of the nations of the earth and their colonies have been combining against a common enemy, and those which were fighting in the heat of the battle have gladly welcomed help from every quarter, it is time to abandon the unctuous pretence of national and racial superiority. It were better that internationalism should be condemned as a pernicious heresy, and the best-contrived plan of a League of Nations rejected without a dissenting vote, than that, having exposed the one and ratified the other, we should insult the weakest member of the new society of nations by denying to its people free admission to our shores.

## HUMAN CURRENTS OF THE WAR[1]

Congress proposes to prohibit immigration during a period of four years after the signing of peace. Is a blanket measure of this character what we want and what we need? Yes—if we

[1] By Herbert Adams Gibbons. In Everybody's for July, 1919. p. 48-53.

can now dispense with Europe's contribution to our material development. No—if increase of population by immigration is still helpful to us. It is an error to think that prohibition for a limited time will save us from undesirable elements. After four years, the best and most energetic of the new migratory current will have found its way elsewhere. Would it not be wiser to permit immigration, but make our regulations more stringent?

We have always handled the problem of entry into the United States stupidly and illogically, annoying to ourselves and to the immigrants. The war has shown us the way, and provided us with the means of suppressing the absurdity of wholesale detention at Ellis Island. As a war measure, we are demanding a passport, with the visé of an American consular official, of every person who proposes to put foot on American soil. It is possible to continue this machinery after the war. We can limit the granting of visés to desirables. The applicant's desirability can best be determined by investigation on the spot in Europe.

The Parliaments of Great Britain and the British Dominions are as keenly alive as we are to the necessity of being ready for a strong migratory current from continental Europe. London has gone farther than Washington, and seems inclined to follow a path that will lead to tremendous consequences for Europe. It is proposed at Westminster to forbid enemy aliens to enter British territory for an indefinite period and to deport Germans, Austrians and Hungarians who are settled in the British Empire. If this proposal is carried out, other nations, notably Brazil, may follow the precedent set by the British. Deportation of Germans from British territory would create a forced migratory current as great as that which is already flowing out of Alsace-Lorraine and Prussian Poland. It is unlikely that the ousted Germans will find it possible to settle in their country of origin. Where will they go, and in what direction will the migratory current from Germany flow? Will public sentiment in America bar Germans and influence Central and South American countries to adopt the same policy? Upon the answer to these questions depends, in a very large measure, the influence of the war of 1914-1918 upon twentieth-century Europe. Nothing is more certain than that we can not bottle up, under adverse economic conditions, the eighty million Germans of Central Europe in a German state narrowed down to its ethnographical limits. Even if we gave back to Germany her colonies, they would not support a

large white population. Do we not have to choose, then, between sharing with the German race the development of Africa, the two Americas and Australia, and seeing the Germans overflow into Eastern Europe and Asia?

In December, 1914, in the office of a great electrical manufacturing concern of Berlin, I was interviewing one of the chief promoters in Germany of reapproachment with Great Britain. I had come to get his version of the causes of the war. "Why is Germany fighting?" he cried, jumping up from his desk. "I can put it in one sentence. We were nervous to the breaking-point over the Westward Ho! preparation of the Slavs." In expanding his thesis, the German explained the war by migratory currents. Russia was pressing Germany, so Germany had to press France and Belgium. Great Britain was afraid she would be pressed in turn. I suppose that if I had met this manufacturer-philosopher again after we had entered the war, he would have explained our intervention in the same way! Some Americans did. Were not we to be attacked next?

Would it be a strange ending for a war caused by German fear of a Slav migratory current westward, to have a German migratory current eastward? Not at all! The greatest wars in Europe were due to migratory currents from the east and north seeking a way out to the Atlantic and Mediterranean. We read that "civilization" was saved every time by the races of the west and south stemming the migratory current. The French claim today that they must go back to the Rhine, as they have done in the past, in order to prevent a renewal of German aggression. But the Eastern menace is relative. The Germans have gone eastward to stem the Slav tide. And at the time of her war with Japan did not Russia try to gain the sympathies of the world by claiming that her presence in Vladivostok and Port Arthur was essential to save Europe from the yellow peril?

"The world is not changed," says the pessimist with a sigh. "History repeats itself. Human nature is always the same." Platitudes! What is being said over and over again in Paris salons is, I am told, being said just as often on the other side of the Atlantic. Let us put over against them the words of Phillips Brooks, as much gospel truth to-day as when they were spoken a generation ago from a Boston pulpit. In the backward and forward movement of migratory currents in Europe, racial elements have been steadily absorbed or united to form increasingly larger political organisms. In the overflow to extra-European countries,

new nations have been created. Racial antagonism and intense nationalism are the aftermath of wars only to superficial observers who can not see farther than the end of their noses, only to opportunist statesmen who mistake passing symptoms for permanent conditions.

A mother once said to me: "I have come to dread the day my babies learn to walk." "Why?" I asked. "Because they can go away from me," she said. The *status quo* is a comfortable condition. But it exists in infancy and decrepitude. Between the beginning and the end of life, there is the migratory instinct. When this world of ours hears the trumpet of the Angel Gabriel, and not until then, shall we be in a position to no longer reckon with evolution.

## IMMIGRATION: THE JOHNSON BILL[1].

*Remarks of Cyrus L. Sulzberger*

I suppose there is no subject on which there is more hysteria and less information than there is on the subject of immigration. We read in this report of two to eight million Germans who are preparing to come over and that seventeen steamship companies could bring ten million of them to the United States in one year's time, if they had the ships. Now, the largest immigration to arrive in the United States in one year in the past was something over one million. At that time the steamships were making the trip in six days. Today when twelve days is a short passage it takes a great flight of the imagination to imagine how more than five hundred thousand could come here in one year. There is no possibility of there being a flood of immigration into this country within twelve months, during which time deliberate legislation is being planned.

The Johnson Bill proposes that no one shall come in except certain relatives of those already here. Mr. JOHNSON did not include wives at first in his Bill; he included children and parents of immigrants now in this country, but he did not include their wives. He has graciously accepted an amendment to admit a man's wife and his sister up to the age of sixteen years or his brother up to the age of twenty-one years; and beyond that, nobody.

[1] New York (State). Chamber of Commerce. Monthly Bulletin. 12: 13-16. January, 1921.

Now, what has been the history of the immigrant? Ordinarily he has come here alone, and his father, mother, brothers and relatives were left abroad until he could establish himself here; and then, after he established himself and made good, he sent for his relatives. From 1914 on for a period of six years he was debarred from doing this; and now that the doors are opened it is proposed to close them again and prohibit the admission of all these people with a few exceptions. It is true he can send for his wife and his father and mother, and his sister, if his sister is under sixteen, and his brother must be under twenty-one. Now, all this wild fear about the burden of the immigrants and the question of unemployment comes up. Anyone who has studied the question—and I have done so for the last fifteen years—knows there is an absolutely automatic regulation of immigration in matter of employment or non-employment. When the demand for employment is great, immigration rises; and as unemployment begins, immigration falls; and the question of unemployment need not scare us, as these immigrants will not come when there is no employment in the United States.

The theory that they congest the cities is also one that alarms us. In New York City we do not see how the industrial growth of the city comes about and what causes congestion in the city. It is the growth of industry which congests cities, and not the immigration. When the General Electric Company established itself in Schenectady the population of Schenectady rose 150 per cent, not by immigration, but by people flowing in from the agricultural regions to take the positions, the industrial positions, in the factories and workshops of this company. Similiarly, when the automobile industry was established in Detroit, you all know how the city's population sprang up from people coming into the factories of the automobile companies from the surrounding agricultural regions. It becomes inevitable that people must flock to the cities to meet the demand there for labor at good compention; and if you do not let in the immigrant now, you will further deplete the farm.

Commissioner Wallis yesterday at Washington opposed this Johnson Bill, and asked that it be defeated, and he says that under no circumstances could 1,000,000 people be brought into this country in the coming year.

I have been connected with the Industrial Removal office of this city, which has distributed 90,000 people throughout the

United States. And if the United States were to establish a thoroughly effective system of removal and distribution of immigrants, such as it failed to establish, although it started, in connection with its Immigration Bureau, it would solve this great problem which the American people have solved in the past, by leaving the doors open for those fit to become American citizens.

*Remarks of William G. Willcox*

As I started my business career forty years ago as a prairie farmer, I may be pardoned a word from the standpoint of the farmer. It is a matter of common knowledge that we are not producing in this country a supply of farm labor. On the contrary, it is well known that the drift has been away from the farms and toward the great industrial centers.

Farm labor has been recruited in the past from the annual immigration, which has averaged about 1,000,000 per year, a large proportion of which has gone to the agricultural districts. For the past six years this supply of farm labor has been cut off almost entirely. Not only that, but there has been an increasing influx to the industrial centers from the farms, due to the higher wages offered in industry and commerce during the war.

Today there is a very serious shortage of farm labor, and the only source of increased supply, apparently, is from immigration. Under such conditions it would seem the wise course for Congress to enact some method of careful censorship and selection at the port of departure in Europe and at the points of distribution here, rather than to make any drastic change in our national policy.

*Remarks of Francis H. Sisson*

In the consideration of this question of immigration, the air has certainly been filled with hysteria and the facts have been lost sight of. The sober truth is that there have come in during the past year less than 300,000 immigrants, net, and in only two months of the year—September and October—did the total number pass our pre-war average. Before the war we averaged about a million immigrants annually; and so the present agitation, in the face of this incoming tide of 300,000 annually, is not well based. More than that, we have vast undeveloped resources in this country which need this immigration more than ever before. Consumption has overtaken production in other countries,

and we have the lands waiting for this sort of labor, and I think it would be an international crime to deny to civilization the opportunity to support itself on our undeveloped land. So far as to there being an element of danger of overcrowding, let me say that if the entire population of Germany and the entire population of France were injected into the State of Texas it would be less congested than Italy is today. And it is estimated that our southern states alone can absorb 250,000,000 workers.

There is a stimulation of propaganda on this problem from selfish sources which is serious as to this situation, and must be weighed accurately. We are now supporting about 35 people per square mile of tillable territory in this country. Years ago Lord MACAULEY said, that not until we are supporting 20,000 people per square mile, would we reach the danger point. I submit that this proposed restriction of immigration is not only uneconomic, but it is unsocial. We have a duty to the world at large; and as Mr. WILLCOX says, it ill becomes us here to approve such a recommendation or a resolution, when such an action by the New York Chamber of Commerce might have far-reaching results. We need thorough study of the case and a full knowledge of the facts and the economic conditions involved before we take action on a subject so important, affecting the entire nation.

## IMMIGRATION [1]

*Remarks of William L. Saunders*

The objection to the Johnson Bill is that it is put forward as an emergency measure. It is evidently prepared in haste, and such measures, so prepared, are always liable to objections; and I think any of you who have looked it over, as I have, will see many objections to it. In the first place, there is the objection which stands out most prominently, and that is that the Johnson Bill does not prohibit the kind of immigrants we do not want in this country, but stops immigration of common labor, which is always needed. We must not lose sight of the fact that there are many classes of immigrants coming into this country, and that the really desirable class, needed in order to keep the country going in its progress, is the laboring class. And while

[1] Report and debate at the special meeting of the New York (State) Chamber of Commerce, January 20, 1921. N. Y. (State) Chamber of Commerce Monthly Bulletin. 12:sup 13-18, 32-3. January, 1921.

the laboring class has little show to get in, these clever fellows who come in through illegal passports and forgeries, and come into the country through Canada, are likely to get in through the exceptions of the Johnson Bill. And it is to prohibit that, that the Sterling Bill was made, which provides that thorough machinery for doing what the gentleman on the other side of the room, Mr. LELAND, advocates: namely, the certifying and examining of immigrants on the other side, at the point of embarkation. We let them come here now, 3,000 miles from home, and then we begin to investigate whether they should be admitted; and in many cases they are deported at the expense of the Government.

The Sterling Bill provides that investigation should be made on the other side. And referring to the gentleman in the front row, Mr. TREVOR, as I listened to his statement, I thought he gave a strong argument against the Johnson Bill in the matter of prohibition against immigration. I think we all agree there should be care, and more thorough inspection given to the immigrants we receive. But he gives us the practical figures of the industrial States of the country, and it shows that most of the immigrants go there.

Next to agriculture, industry is the biggest factor in this country's progress; and while labor has been scarce, still, we are glad to have these foreigners come here to turn our wheels around.

I will refer to some objections in the Johnson Bill: For instance, page 3, paragraph 3, the text of the Bill is: "Bona fide students who may enter the United States solely for the purpose of study at educational institutions particularly designated by them; and upon graduation, completion, or discontinuance of studies they shall not be entitled to remain in the United States.

I am a member of the Executive Committee of the Chili-American Association. We have provided a sum of money, and we are educating some of them, young Chileans, in science and in medicine. Our sole purpose in doing it is to create or cultivate a friendly feeling between Chili and the United States. Now, must these men, after becoming efficient in medicine or other technical studies, must they, because of that efficiency and their desirability in our works and industries, must they be cast aside and told to return to their native country? That, to my mind, is an objection in this Johnson Bill.

Another, is on page 7, where there is a long list of exceptions, and one of them is that permission to bring into the United States, or send for "an otherwise admissible wife." I have heard of a beautiful wife, and I have heard of a cantankerous wife, but I have never heard of an "admissible wife"—there is reference to the otherwise admissible parent, grandparent, unmarried son or brother under twenty-one years of age, unmarried or widowed daughter or sister; grandson under sixteen years of age whose father is dead, or unmarried or widowed granddaughter whose father is dead"—in other words, the poor fellow on the other side who wants to enter America must wait until his grandfather dies, or else kill him off; and the grandfather and a poor spinster and a widowed granddaughter, they are discriminated against in this bill of Mr. JOHNSON. They must have their father come over here and get in here, or else they must kill him off, or get married.

And in the latter part of the same paragraph it refers to certain aliens; they may announce their intention of coming into the United States, and they may make an application for an otherwise admissible husband and wife; in other words, a fellow might advertise his intention to come. It goes on to put certain limitations as follows: "but no application may be made under this paragraph in the case of any relative by adoption."

A poor child in one of these devastated countries has been adopted; the one who adopts the child wants to bring it into this country but cannot do so under the terms of the Johnson Bill.

The third objection is that everything is left then to the Secretary of Labor. The Secretary of Labor may be some one in favor of lowering the bars to immigrants, or he may be in favor of absolute discrimination and prohibition. The bill puts everything in his hands.

I would very much prefer the Sterling Bill, which has been carefully considered, and which provides a Board of Inquiry, with provisions for admitting the largest number desirable. Provision is made that the admissible immigration in any one year shall not exceed three-fourths of one per cent. of the entire population of the United States, and that the admissible immigration in any one year for any single ethnic group shall not exceed one-fifth of one per cent. of such population in the United States today.

*Remarks of William G. Willcox*

The question before the Chamber today is simply this: Does an emergency exist which justifies a radical departure from the established policy of the United States and a drastic restriction of immigration for a period of one year?

In considering this question, it is of first importance that we should have accurate facts. The immigration which we all have in mind is immigration from Europe. In this respect the official figures are somewhat misleading, including as they do, large numbers admitted through border stations, especially from Canada. For this reason the statistics of trans-atlantic passenger traffic furnish a more accurate picture of the true situation as regards European immigration. I have a record of the trans-atlantic passenger movement to and from all ports—Boston to Galveston inclusive—for the past twenty years.

During the five years preceding the war, 1909-1913, inclusive, the average number of steerage and second class passengers arriving at these ports was 1,089,696 per annum, while the average number of passengers leaving these ports was 481,204 per annum, showing a net immigration of 608,492 per annum. During the seven years, 1914-1920, inclusive, the average arrivals of steerage and second class passengers amounted to 276,184 per annum, while the eastbound steerage and second class passengers sailing during the same period amounted to 227,606 per annum, showing a net immigration of 48,578 per annum, or a reduction from the pre-war average of 559,914 per annum. The trans-atlantic immigration, therefore, for the past seven years, has been nearly 4,000,000 less than it would have been if the pre-war average had continued.

Doubtless many who would have come during these seven years under normal conditions, are now anxiously awaiting an opportunity to join families and friends in this country, but the number who can come is limited by the steamship capacity.

I have secured a list, therefore, of all the tonnage now available for immigration, which shows a carrying capacity for 1921 estimated at 780,700. Other tonnage in sight which may become available during the year would increase this capacity to approximately 900,000 per annum. The capacity of the entire tonnage available and in sight is therefore nearly 200,000 per annum short of the pre-war average. Assuming that the eastbound

traffic will be at least one-third of the westbound, this would permit a net trans-atlantic immigration of not more than 600,000 per annum, which is almost exactly the pre-war average. If all of the tonnage available or in sight could be doubled over night, it would still take six years to make up the loss of trans-atlantic immigration during the past seven years.

These facts and figures should serve to reassure the supporters of the Johnson Bill, who fear an influx of uncounted millions of undesirable immigrants. The steamship capacity is a more effectual limit than any restrictive legislation.

Moreover, the present law requires immigrants to be of good moral character, free from disease and physically sound, mentally competent, self-supporting and opposed to revolution or violence. While thousands of native born Americans could not pass the test, only about 1 per cent. of the immigrants are returned for failure to meet the requirements. This law is surely sufficiently drastic and if it is not enforced the obvious remedy is a more efficient staff rather than a suspension of immigration.

The exceptions in the Johnson Bill would probably admit a sufficient number to nearly, if not quite, fill the steamship capacity. Possibly it might reduce the immigration by two or three hundred thousand and increase the emigration of men returning to join their families in Europe, but the total number excluded could not possibly reach half a million.

While the actual result would be small, however, the psychological effect would be serious and far-reaching. Events during the war and since the armistice have not served to increase the contentment of our foreign born citizens or their confidence in the purpose of the American government, to give them a fair deal. Can we afford to increase their unrest and distrust at such a time as this? The whole world is suffering today from fear and apprehension, like a child in terror of something he knows not what, under the bed or behind the door. Suspicion and alarm spread like contagion. We shall not make much progress in clearing up the aftermath of the war until we can re-establish confidence and good-will among different classes and peoples. Under these conditions, America should sound a note of confidence and hope, not of hysterical fear. Imagine the effect of the Johnson Bill on a man who sent our money, as many did before the war, to bring his wife and children to America and who has been waiting for them all these many years. Imagine the effect

on European people and nations of such a slap in the face from the America which they had thought so liberal and so friendly.

Argentine offers immigrants free land, Canada guarantees work and makes large appropriations to care for immigrants; Chili offers land and implements; Australia sells land on easy terms and advances money for improvements; New Zealand offers reduced steamship fares; while Brazil gives free passage, cares for them on arrival, transports them to destination and supplies tools and seeds, with medicine and care in case of illness. If we wish to compete with these countries in securing desirable immigrants and safeguard their interests and our own, we have a vast problem to face in the organization of an adequate and efficient Bureau of Immigration, but the Johnson Bill would make no constructive contribution to the solution of this problem, but only make the situation more complicated and difficult.

## PROPOSALS TO AMELIORATE EVILS OF IMMIGRATION [1]

In accordance with the purpose for which it was appointed, your Committee on Immigration and Naturalization has undertaken a study of the subject of immigration and herewith submits its report. This report incorporates the conclusions of the Committee's three subcommittees which were appointed to study the leading phases of the question; namely, regulation and restriction, education and naturalization, and distribution. These subjects are here considered in turn.

### *Regulation and Restriction*

The primary purpose of any plan to regulate immigration should be to protect and promote the best interests of this country. Due consideration must therefore be given to social, political and economic conditions in the United States as well as to the character and assimilability of the peoples seeking admission to this country.

In order to safeguard our social and political welfare, adequate laws have already been enacted to prohibit the immigration of such generally recognized undesirables as criminals, the

[1] Extract from the Committee Report submitted to the Merchants' Association of New York City at its meeting, November 19, 1920. Greater New York. 9:2-6. November 22, 1920.

physically and mentally unfit and those advocating the destruction of government. These laws were substantially strengthened last spring by the passage of additional legislation applying particularly to radicals. Provisions have likewise been made to exclude from this country Oriental peoples, who are known to be difficult of assimilation. Your Committee believes that these measures are sound and recommends that emphasis at this time be placed not on the addition of further restrictive measures but rather on the efficient administration of those already on the statute books.

* * *

*Education*

Whatever policy may be followed in regulating the flow of immigration, the problem of properly assimilating immigrants already resident in this country is a very real and pressing one which demands a definite solution if we are to guarantee the integrity and perpetuate the ideals of this nation.

In this connection the matter of education is of the first importance. There are in New York City alone, 260,000 adult aliens who are either wholly illiterate or unable to speak the English language, and a total of probably 500,000 who can neither read nor write the English language—a population the size of the city of Buffalo and San Francisco, which is almost entirely dependent upon a foreign language for information concerning American institutions and government. Not more than 10 per cent of these people are being reached by any systematic educational program, in spite of the very commendable efforts of more than 200 social, philanthropic and purely educational agencies now operating here among the foreign born.

Your Committee believes that a larger number of these people should be reached, and that although this work is primarily the duty of the State, such organizations as The Merchants' Association can, and should, actively participate in an effort to make the State's program more effective.

* * *

*Distribution of Immigration*

Of no less importance than the education and naturalization of immigrants, and indeed essential to these, is the matter of distribution. Inadequate distribution has given rise to many of

the injurious social and economic results of immigration, such as congested alien colonies, overcrowded housing facilities, and the periodic overcrowding of the labor market. On the other hand, proper distribution, your Committee believes, would automatically solve many of these perplexing problems. The subject, therefore, is of the greatest importance.

The facts of mal-distribution are familiar to all. For the five-year period 1909-1914, for instance, the six States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Illinois, with less than 6 per cent of the area of the United States, received 56 per cent of the total immigration for that period. For the year 1907 these same States received 69 per cent of the total immigration.

It has frequently been suggested that during the first period there are several occasions on which the immigrant might be influenced concerning his final destination in the United States. At the time he applies to the American Consul to have his passport viséd there is opportunity to furnish him with general information regarding the United States. This process might be continued by government agents on shipboard during the voyage across the ocean and also during the immigrant's stay at the port of debarkation.

## THE REGULATION OF IMMIGRATION [1]

The National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation has prepared the draft of a bill which has been introduced in the House by Hon. Benj. F. Welty, being H. R. 14196.

### *Principal Features of the Proposed Law*

1. *The creation of an Immigration Board* of the Secretaries of State, Labor, Commerce, Interior and Agriculture and a sixth member appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. This Board is to have power to determine yearly the maximum number of immigrants of each people to be admitted to the United States.

2. Its decision shall be based on:

(a) The demonstrated assimilability of each people as shown by the United States Census, in regard to the

[1] Pamphlet issued by the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, 105 East 22d Street, New York, N. Y.

number of each people who have become citizens by naturalization and also the number of American-born children of that people.

(b) Labor conditions in the United States, whether industrial, agricultural, domestic or other.

(c) The maintenance of American standards of living and wages.

(d) The fitness and availability of each people for general or for special needs and for various localities.

3. The Board is required to study and report upon the question of distribution of immigrants.

4. Distinction is made between "transients" and immigrants; and all aliens are required on entering the United States to give a Pledge of Obedience to our laws.

5. The standards of naturalization are raised as indicated in paragraph seven above and the privilege of citizenship is offered to every one who will duly qualify.

6. Laws now existing that contravene our treaties, that discriminate between peoples and that are in conflict with the above provisions are repealed.

*Advantages of the Proposed Law*

1. The proposed law will admit as immigrants from each people only so many as we can hope to Americanize—because it will allow an immigration of newcomers of any given people only in proportion to the proved ability of that people to assimilate wholesomely into our life.

2. The proposed law will provide a competent Board to deal continuously with the ever-changing problems of immigration as they arise, with power to adjust from year to year according to our economic and industrial needs the amount of immigration from each people, to deal with special exigencies of labor and of human needs, and to investigate thoroughly and comprehensively the basic problem of the distribution of immigration.

3. It will protect American labor from dangers of unregulated immigration, and help maintain American economic social, and hygienic labor standards.

4. It will tend to stabilize business by preventing extreme fluctuations of available labor which result in over-production and then in stagnation of business with unemployment of labor,

causing incalculable suffering, anxiety and loss, and increasingly ominous unrest.

5. It will raise the standards of naturalization, promote more intelligent practice of citizenship and secure a higher efficiency for our democracy.

6. It will prevent a sudden large influx from any new people having few, if any, representatives already among us, and restrain immigration from peoples that do not readily assimilate with our people; yet at the same time it will increasingly open the doors to those who do assimilate.

7. It will give privileges of citizenship to every individual who will properly qualify for the same. This provision will remove in a fundamental way the cause of Japanese irritation and indignation. We give citizenship to many non-Caucasians, such as Tartars, Finns and Hungarians; Turks, Syrians, Persians and Hindu; Mexicans and South Americans; Zulus, Hottentots, Kaffirs and men from any tribe in Africa; but we deny it to Japanese and Chinese. This is why both Japanese and Chinese regard our naturalization laws as ignominious and humiliating.

The proposed law will remove from our present laws this humiliation, which is increasingly resented not only by Asiatics in this land but also by their peoples in Asia. Yet in doing away with our differential treatment of Asiatics no danger will be incurred by increased immigration from Asia.

## IMMIGRATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT[1]

The absolute restriction of immigration is being urged in Congress. At least two arguments and as many bills will be offered to accomplish this result. We are in the midst of an industrial depression with its consequent unemployment. At the same time the number of Europeans who would emigrate to this country is increasing. Why, it is asked, should immigration be permitted at such a time? It certainly does not benefit the immigrant to permit him to enter a country where he cannot find work. And equally it is of no advantage to the country to have a large section of the people idle. It is, therefore, entirely natural that such organizations as the American Federation of

[1] By William M. Leiserson, Chairman, Labor Adjustment Board, Clothing Industry of Rochester, N. Y. Survey. 45:388. December 11 1920.

Labor should be demanding a cessation of immigration for two years. This demand coupled with the worldwide prejudice against "foreigners", the nationalist feeling now in the ascendant in so many countries that any alien is probably a dangerous radical plotting the destruction of orderly society, will give such proposal as that of the House Committee on Immigration a very substantial backing. With unemployment there is no very active demand for immigrant workers and accordingly the enactment of such a measure as that brought in by Albert Johnson, chairman of the House committee, may be obtained more easily than in other circumstances.

People still may come to the United States because it is a political refuge, but there is no longer any real question of the fact that our immigration is economic and not political. It must accordingly be handled on an economic basis. It is proposed that immigration be cut off for definite periods—six months or two years. I submit that a better plan exists. Regard the facts. The proposal that immigration be stopped is based on an assumed state of affairs—on the assumption that there is already a surplus of labor in the country. The proposals which were made a year ago that immigration be stimulated were based on another assumption—that there was a shortage of workers. It is not possible to build rational policies on constantly changing assumptions when no method of modifying the policies to suit the facts is available.

It is illuminating, I think, to consider the legal devices which are now in use to handle analogous problems. Take the railroads as a case. Some years ago the political conflict over the railroads centered in the question whether a two-cent or a three-cent rate should be imposed. After a time it was seen that it was not practicable to settle the question of railroad rates by so simple a formula. Consequently railroad commissions were created and they were told to investigate and then to fix rates which could be considered "reasonable." No arbitrary figures were imposed by the legislature. Instead, a body of men was given the authority to investigate the essential circumstances and to act in accordance with the needs of the situation. We are beginning to do this with the tariff. In past years purely arbitrary duties were imposed to protect American industries. They might be inordinately high and act as means of protecting profiteering rather than the industry. Congress had to guess. Ultimately a

commission was created. Now Congress is in the position to learn how the costs of American manufacturers compare with those of their competitors. With such knowledge a tariff can be fixed that tends to equalize costs and protects the consumer as well as the industry.

The control of immigration may be managed in a similar manner. The first necessary step is to create a permanent commission with powers similar to those of the interstate commerce commission. Such a commission can keep in touch with the relevant facts and base its rulings on actual needs and not on principles which might have seemed appropriate at one time, but which became inappropriate a few months later. When its investigations show that there is a general surplus of labor, it could make a ruling as the Interstate Commerce Commission does that immigration shall be suspended for a period. If, however, the facts show that unemployment is not general but that certain industries or agriculture or certain sections of the country are really in need of additional labor, it may permit the entry of immigrants who shall agree to work in these industries or sections of the country. The flow of immigration would be continuously regulated in accordance with economic opportunity and the industrial needs of the country. The gates could thus be closed completely in times of complete industrial depression, or be partly closed if labor surplus existed only in certain industries or sections of the country; or they could be thrown wide open in times of general shortage of labor.

As elsewhere in government, I see no escape in this matter of immigration from scientifically ascertaining facts before taking action if we are to have a sound policy. I would, however, point out that sound precedent exists for such a system. During the war an actual shortage of workers existed in some industries. Because of that the secretary of labor temporarily suspended certain portions of the regulations covering immigration.

Such a system working through a commission would be entirely in harmony with good practice in other countries and also with the recommendations and the draft conventions of the League of Nations. In Canada, for example, I know of a case in point. An American company desired to send ten American mechanics to work in their Canadian branch. The Canadian immigration officials refused to permit the entry of these men

until the Canadian employment service had ascertained that no Canadian mechanics competent to do the work were unemployed. As a matter of fact six Canadians were found. The American company was allowed to bring in four Americans and no more despite energetic protests.

The International Labor Conference of the League of Nations proposed that migrations of workers from one country to another be permitted after obtaining the approval of the employers' and the workers' organizations of both countries affected. In the United States no agency exists for consulting either employers or workers on this question. A permanent immigration commission would, however, be the natural channel through which such mutual arrangement could be effected. An immigration commission would do no more than deal with the flow of workers from foreign countries. It would neither distribute the available jobs nor compensate those for whom no work existed. These things and many others also are necessary if unemployment is to be dealt with in accordance with existing human knowledge. But on the single question of immigration I am assured that the creation of a permanent commission will prove to be the beginning of national wisdom in handling an issue which is as old as the republic.

## NATIONAL LIBERAL IMMIGRATION LEAGUE

*Resolutions adopted at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Manufacturers May* 19-21, 1919

WHEREAS it was proposed by the Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives of the 65th Congress to substantially prohibit immigration to the United States for a period of years and such proposal is likely to be renewed in the same terms, and

WHEREAS the information is not now available upon which to fairly determine whether the United States is likely to suffer an outflow or inflow from its population, but circumstantial evidence at hand strongly indicates the former is likely to occur and that a variety of causes may induce a severe drain amongst many elements of our foreign born population,

*Therefore be it resolved* that the National Association of

Manufacturers in Convention assembled declares its belief that public interest requires that the Congress should consider the formulation of a just and socially sound immigration policy which, without denying admission to those whose presence is politically and economically desirable, will reject the diseased, the criminal, those likely to become dependent, or who by expressed belief or racial or national predisposition, are unlikely to be, or incapable of becoming qualified for citizenship; that any person, foreign or native born, who advocates or teaches the overthrow of this form of government by force or physical resistance to its lawful authority should upon accusation and conviction upon such charge, forfeit his citizenship, or if an alien, be deported to the country whence he came, and subject to such restrictions the United States invites to its shores, as ever, the strong, the honest, the clean in mind who have faith in its institutions, adhere to them, and who desire to enjoy the privilege of its citizenship.

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"Mr. President, it is important to remember that this stream of immigrants has been flowing into America since the early days of the seventeenth century. Those who favor this bill seem to forget that only the other day their ancestors were alien, the sons of England, France, Ireland, Italy, Scotland, Poland, Germany, Russia, and other lands; and though that stream of revivifying blood has ceased to flow into some sections of our country, it still continues to renew the energies and courage of the North and the West, as ever. Wherever he has gone schools have sprung up; industries have flourished; trade has increased; wealth has multiplied; prosperity has bloomed; and patriotism, peace, law, order, intelligence and happiness follow in his footsteps."

—James A. Gallivan, Representative in Congress from Massachusetts.

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"Let the objectors to opening our gates to able bodied immigrants of good character reflect where our country would have been except for that invaluable element."

Andrew Carnegie.

# PART II
# ASIATIC IMMIGRATION

# BRIEF

Resolved, That Asiatic immigrants in the United States should be accorded the same treatment as is extended to immigrants from European nations.

## Introduction

I. This discussion is concerned only with the treatment of immigrants after arrival in the United States and does not apply to conditions of entry.

II. The term "Asiatic immigrants" applies particularly to the Japanese in California at the present time.

III. Discrimination against Asiatic immigrants actually exists.
   A. The California alien land law of 1913 forbids the ownership of land, or the leasing of land for more than three years by aliens "ineligible to citizenship."
      1. This results in discrimination against the Japanese and Chinese by reason of the fact that under the Naturalization act, they are ineligible for citizenship.
   B. The law was passed in spite of the protest of the Japanese Government, the President of the United States and the Secretary of State.
   C. It has been strengthened recently by an amendment, proposed by initiative and passed November 2, 1920.
      1. This new law re-affirms the inhibitions of farm land ownership imposed by the law of 1913.
      2. It denies to Japanese the right to
         a. lease farm land for any period of time whatever.
         b. acquire or hold stock in any corporation owning farm land.
         c. act as guardians for their American-born children in any matter in which farm land is involved.

## Affirmative

I. A sound basis does not exist for the adoption of such a policy of discrimination.

A. The traditions of the United States are fundamentally opposed to any discriminatory measures.

1. Race-prejudice is inconsistent with American principles.

B. There is little feeling against the Asiatic races outside of California.

C. The history of California's reaction against the Japanese shows it to have been due more to prejudice and agitation than to actual events.

1. The demand for exclusion of Japanese children from the public schools in San Francisco in 1907 arose from the shortage of school accommodations after the fire.
2. Feeling against the Japanese due to rapid increase in immigration prior to 1912 practically died out after the Alien land law of 1913 was adopted.
3. During the war very friendly relations existed between the Americans and the Japanese.
4. Since the signing of the Armistice, antagonism has been revived for political reasons.

a. The 1920 amendment was passed as a result of long and bitter agitation on the part of the anti-Japanists.

(1) All the arts and practices of "yellow journalism" were employed.

(2) All avenues of publicity were practically closed to the opposite side.

(3) In spite of this the vote in favor of the measure was only 3 to 1 in place of 9 to 1 as predicted.

II. Many of the claims advanced regarding the dangers of Japanese domination in California are shown to be unfounded or very much overstated.

A. Immigration has decreased materially since the "Gentlemen's Agreement" was concluded with Japan.

1. The new male immigration has amounted to only about six thousand for 1911-1920, wives and "picture brides" to ten or eleven thousand.

B. The birth rate is not so alarmingly high as has been stated.
   1. The history of all immigration shows that the birthrate of each new immigrant group has been high at first but has declined with increasing prosperity and higher standards of living.
   2. A high birth-rate is not a racial trait of the Japanese.
   3. The abolition of "picture brides" will result in fewer marriages.
   4. There exists as yet no scientific basis of comparison to show whether or not the Japanese birth-rate is actually high as compared to that of American stock.

C. At present the Japanese number but 2% of the population of California.
   1. According to the figures of the State Board of Control, the Japanese number 87,279, while the total population of the State, according to the latest census returns, is 3,426,000.
   2. The Japanese are numerically much stronger in California than in any other state.

D. The amount of land controlled by the Japanese is very much less than is imagined.
   1. Out of 28,000,000 acres of farm land in the state of California, the Japanese own, or are buying on contract, 74,769 acres, and lease or operate on crop shares, 383,287 acres.
   2. Much of this land is arid or swamp land which has been made productive by the efforts of the Japanese themselves.
   3. Much good land is still uncultivated.

III. Discrimination against the Japanese is not warranted on the ground of lack of capacity for assimiliation.

A. Physically.
   1. The fallacy of the assertion that races cannot assimilate physically has been demonstrated.

a. Physical changes affecting height, weight, color of hair, etc., have been definitely established.

2. These changes are taking place now among the Japanese immigrants.

B. Culturally.

1. American-born Japanese children are American in speech, customs, spirit, and manner of thinking.

2. Japanese adults have demonstrated their ability to Americanize, by

a. the enlistment of Japanese young men during the War.

b. the willingness with which the Japanese bought liberty bonds, and thrift stamps and contributed to the Red Cross and other American war charities.

c. the ease with which they conform to American standards of living, and legal requirements and perform their civic duties.

d. their increasing adherence to the Christian religion.

e. their efforts for systematic Americanization of their own people.

3. Even those who are working for exclusion base their arguments not so much on the inferiority of the Japanese as on their superiority.

a. They are quick to take advantage of opportunities for education.

b. They have very desirable standards of cleanliness, diet, sexual morality, and personal honesty.

c. They are capable of hard labor and are industrious.

d. They are seldom found in the police courts or the almshouses.

e. They come to this country expecting to stay and take part in it, pay taxes and live up to the social and civic obligations of citizens.

C. Intermarriage is not an absolute condition of assimilation.

IV. Such discrimination as is imposed by the California laws is unwise and impracticable.
  A. For economic reasons.
    1. It will tend to drive the Japanese from the farms.
      a. This will increase the farm labor shortage and decrease food supply.
    2. Americans will not take over the farms as stated.
      a. They do not care to produce small fruit and vegetable crops but concentrate on cereals and large crop farming which bring larger returns for the money and labor invested.
      b. They are not as well adapted physically as the Japanese for the kind of labor demanded by intensive farming.
    3. It will increase competition among city laborers.
      a. Those in this country will not go back to Japan but will go to the cities.
      b. The labor unions are against increasing competition in the labor market.
    4. Population is increasing already much faster in the cities than in the country.
    5. It may harm our foreign trade.
      a. Japan's share of our Asiatic and Oceanic trade for this last year was nearly one-half.
  B. For political reasons.
    1. Such legislation should be left to the Federal government and should not be attempted by any state.
      a. It embarrasses our State Department and threatens the amicability of the relations between the two nations.
      b. The State Department is endeavoring even now to work out a satisfactory agreement with Japan as to future immigration.
    2. It is insulting to Japan.
      a. It is doubtful if Japan has violated the "Gentlemen's Agreement" as has been declared.
    3. The Arizona law of 1912 of a similar nature, was held invalid by the Supreme Court.
  C. It is detrimental to the good name of America and exposes us to ridicule by other nations.

V. Discrimination is not warranted on the basis of other reasons that have been put forward.

A. The blame for such "colonization" as exists can be laid largely to the American residents who refuse to neighbor or to do business with the Japanese.

1. Social and legal discrimination and the inhibition of intermarriage tend to herd them together and retard the process of assimilation.
2. Such colonization is no more serious than exists in the big cities of the East.

B. The danger of the Japanese language schools has been much over-estimated.

1. Many of them employ American teachers and are revising their text-books to conform to American principles.
2. It is the hope of the Japanese to have these schools taken over eventually by the California State Board of Education.

C. To exclude the Japanese because Japan claims the allegiance of Japanese born in America is not just.

1. France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany and Greece have similar laws.
2. Japan is more liberal than these countries for she permits a child born abroad of Japanese parents to relinquish allegiance to Japan any time before the age of 17.

D. Japan does not in practice forbid all ownership of land by foreigners.

1. Foreigners have been permitted to purchase land in Japan.

VI. There is little prejudice against the Japanese outside of California.

A. There has been practically no agitation against them in other western states where they have settled.

1. There are many Japanese in Washington and Oregon.

B. Hawaii is still strongly American in spirit in spite of the numbers of Japanese there.

## Negative

I. A sound basis does exist for discriminating against Asiatic immigrants.
   A. White people will not live with those of a physically different race except on the basis of that race's inferiority.
      1. The Japanese are not inferior.
      2. They are in some respects superior.
   B. The "brotherhood of man" cannot exist between peoples holding entirely different ideas as to the "Fatherhood of God" and man's responsibility to man.

II. The presence of the Japanese in California is a serious menace to the public welfare.
   A. Immigration is still going on in spite of the "Gentlemen's agreement."
      1. Undesirable laborers are still coming into the country.
         a. They come in over the Mexican border.
         b. They are smuggled in by the Japanese fishing fleets.
      2. By taking advantage of the regulation which permits Japanese residents to send for their wives many "picture brides" are brought in.
         a. Marriages are arranged for by exchange of photographs and the authorities are forced to admit these women because they are claimed as wives.
   B. The birth-rate is alarmingly high.
      1. These "picture brides" become mothers as well as wives.
      2. Statistics show while that in 1910, only 2.24% of the children born were Japanese, in 1919, 7.82% were Japanese.
      3. According to reports of the health officers, one-third of the children born outside the incorporated cities in Los Angeles county are Japanese.
      4. There was a decrease of 8% in the number of births of white children from 1906 to 1917.

C. The Japanese are gaining control of the land to an alarming degree.
   1. They are taking ownership of land in the names of their minor children born on American soil.
   2. They also take advantage of the state corporation law to secure land under corporation privileges.
   3. They lease land or operate it on crop shares.
      a. They work so incessantly that no white man can compete with them.

III. There is no possibility of assimilation on the part of the Japanese.
   A. The Japanese cannot assimilate and become good citizens.
      1. They maintain racial purity to a remarkable degree even after generations of mingling with other people.
         a. This has been the case in Hawaii.
      2. Their religion is an effective bar.
         a. Shintoism or ancestor-worship is too deeply inbred.
         b. The Japanese hold the Mikado as the one living God to whom they owe their very existence and therefore all allegiance.
   B. The Japanese may not assimilate and become good citizens.
      1. Every Japanese born here is kept track of by the Japanese Government and is subject to orders from Japan and to military duty.
      2. Since the United States confers its citizenship on those born here unasked, it must recognize Japan's claims.
      3. The children are brought up with Japanese ideals and attend Japanese schools after public school hours to be taught the Japanese language and religion.
         a. The text-books for these schools are issued under the authority of the Department of Education at Tokyo.
   C. The Japanese will not assimilate and become good citizens.

1. In Hawaii where the Japanese practically control the territory, the Japanese form a separate alien community, observe Japanese customs and use the Japanese language in the schools and in business.
   a. Similar conditions prevail in California but are less marked because of the differences in conditions.
2. It is stated on good authority that about 5000 American-born Japanese are now in Japan for instruction in ideals and religion.
3. The Japanese will not Americanize and often show marked antagonism to Americanization work.
4. Where they do Americanize it is not from patriotism or any desire to become good citizens, but because by doing so they can further the interests of Japan.

D. There cannot be effective assimilation without intermarriage.
   1. This is not desirable for either race.
      a. Some states have laws against it.
   2. When permitted by law the Japanese have shown no inclination to take advantage of it.
      a. This has been demonstrated in Hawaii.

IV. The passage of the alien land laws in California was a wise and necessary act.

A. For economic reasons.
   1. The Japanese are displacing the Americans as farmers very rapidly.
      a. They have the advantage in securing the control of land.
         (1) They secure ownership or control by evasions of law.
         (2) They offer higher prices than American farmers can, because by their very efficiency they can secure more easily adequate returns on the money invested.
         (3) They organize in companies and partnerships to be able to raise the amounts necessary for investment.

b. They have a monopoly of the best land.
c. American farmers cannot compete with them because of the differences in standards of living.
(1) The Japanese are willing to work endlessly and for lower wages.
(2) Their wives labor in the fields with them.
(3) They require less in the way of comforts and conveniences.
d. Their conditions of living are such that Americans will not stay where they are.
(1) Many farms formerly owned by Americans have been abandoned, their owners having moved to other states or communities.
e. They are not satisfied to work as laborers but become farm owners and managers.
(1) It is said that more white men work for Japanese farmers than Japanese work for white farmers.

2. They practically have control of the small fruit and vegetable industry in California.
a. They control the sale of the crop and regulate prices.
b. They have their own banks and commission houses.
c. Their money does not circulate among other industries but much of it goes eventually to Japan.

B. For political reasons.
1. It is to Japan's interest to settle as many of her nationals as possible on foreign territory while retaining their allegiance.
2. While the Japanese problem is confined mostly to California at the present time, it will spread and become a national menace.
a. It has already done so in Hawaii.
3. California was forced to pass this legislation to protect her interests in the absence of effective regulation of Asiatic immigration by the Federal Government.

V. This legislation against the Japanese in California is warranted for other reasons.
   A. Any country has a right to regulate immigration or treatment of its aliens in a manner necessary to protect its interests and preserve its integrity.
   B. The Japanese schools are a positive menace.
      1. They serve to foster the ideals of and loyalty to Japan in the hearts of Japanese children.
   C. No serious opposition on the part of Japan need be feared.
      1. Japan cannot complain of unfairness.
         a. Ownership of land is forbidden to aliens in Japan.
      2. She is too dependent on us and not strong enough to go to war on account of this matter.
      3. Her plea that new territory is needed for her increasing population need not trouble us.
         a. She still has land of her own unsettled.
   D. There are only two groups of people who welcome the increasing Japanese population in this country.
      1. Employers of labor on a large scale.
      2. Theorists who declare their belief in the brotherhood of all peoples but who have had no actual first-hand experience in living with the Japanese.

VI. Legislation has been attempted against the Japanese in other states.
   A. It has been attempted in Idaho, Colorado, Oregon and Arizona.
   B. A law has just been passed in Washington.

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American Committee of Justice, 1904 Adeline St., Oakland, Calif.
Organized to oppose anti-Japanese legislation in California.

Asiatic Exclusion League, 316 14th St., San Francisco, Calif.
This association was very active some years ago, but no authoritative information could be secured regarding its present activities.

Japanese Association of America, 444 Bush St., San Francisco, Calif.
Issues literature occasionally and will send no request.

Japanese Exclusion League of California, Mr. John S. Chambers, State Controller, Chairman, Sacramento, Calif.
In favor of exclusion of the Japanese.

Northwest Japanese Association, Central Building, Seattle, Wash.
Issues occasional literature.

Seattle, Wash. Chamber of Commerce. Japanese Advisory Council.
Is collecting material on the question.

# GENERAL DISCUSSION

## JAPANESE AND OTHER IMMIGRANT RACES IN THE PACIFIC COAST AND ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES [1]

The immigration problem of the West takes a form somewhat different from that of the eastern and middle states, principally because of differences in location with reference to sources of immigration, comparative sparsity of population, and extent of resources remaining to be developed and exploited. The expense involved in direct immigration to the West from Europe is so great that European immigrants are secured chiefly as a part of the general westward movement. On the other hand, the location and climate of New Mexico, Arizona, and California are such as to cause them to share with Texas most of the immigrants from Mexico, while the location of the three Pacific coast states, California, Oregon, and Washington, is such as to bring to them practically the whole of the eastern Asiatic immigration and the secondary movement from the Hawaiian Islands.

According to the census, the number of Chinese in the continental United States in 1900 was 93,283. Of these, 88,758 were males and 4525 were females. In all probability the number of adult males was somewhat larger than the figure reported, as it is almost impossible to enumerate all but a negligible percentage of the foreign-born males living under such conditions as were at that time found among the Chinese. It is impossible to estimate the number of persons of that race now in the United States, as many have died or returned to China since 1900, while others have returned from China to this country, and men, women, and children of eligible classes to the number of 19,182 have been admitted to the United States between July 1, 1899, and June 30, 1909. Moreover, it is acknowledged by those familiar with the administration of the law that some foreign-born have secured admission as "native sons" while others have been smuggled across the Canadian or the Mexican boundary.

[1] United States. Immigration Commission. Abstracts of Reports. p. 654-76. 1911.

However, it has become evident from the investigation conducted by the commission that the number of Chinese in all of the cities of the West, and the number engaged in the different industries in which they have found employment in the past, have materially decreased within the last decade or so.

The immigration of Chinese laborers to this country may be said to date from the rush to California in search of gold sixty years ago. Within ten years a relatively large number of persons of that race, more than 45,000 in fact, found a place in the population of that state. Before the close of the decade of the sixties, they had engaged in a variety of occupations, as the absence of cheap labor from any other source, their industry and organization, and the rapid growth of the country placed a premium upon their employment.

The ease with which the Chinese found employment and the place they came to occupy in the West is explained by several facts. First of all, they were the cheapest laborers available for unskilled work. The white population previous to the eighties was drawn almost entirely from the eastern states and from north European countries, and, as in all rapidly developing communities, the number of women and children was comparatively small. According to the census of 1870, of 238,648 persons engaged in gainful occupations in California, 46 per cent were native-born, 13 per cent were born in Ireland, 8 per cent in Germany, 4.8 per cent in England and Wales, 2 per cent in France, and 1.4 per cent in Italy. The Chinese, with 14 per cent of the total, were more numerous than the Irish. The Chinese worked for lower wages than the white men in the fields and orchards, in the shoe factories, the cigar factories, the woolen mills, and later in most of the other industries in which the two classes were represented. As a result of this, a division of labor grew up in which the Chinese were very generally employed in certain occupations while white persons were employed in other occupations requiring skill, a knowledge of English, and other qualities not possessed by the Asiatics, and sufficiently agreeable in character and surroundings to attract white persons of the type at that time found in the population of the West.

It has been estimated that the number of Chinese in the United States at the time the first exclusion act went into effect (1882) was 132,300. The number of Chinese laborers did not diminish perceptibly for several years after this. More recently,

because of the wider distribution of the Chinese among the states, the decreasing number in the country, the large percentage who have grown old, a strong sentiment against employing Asiatics in manufacture, and the appearance of the Japanese, a change has taken place in the occupations in which the Chinese engage.

The assessment roll for 1908 shows 20 cigar factories, 3 broom factories, 1 shoe factory, and 5 overall factories conducted by Chinese in San Francisco. By far the largest number of Chinese, however, some 1000, are employed in the 100 Chinese laundries. The other branches of business are of comparatively little importance save the art and curio stores, which are conducted by business men from China. Of the Chinese in other cities much the same may be said, except that they occupy no important place in manufacture and that they frequently conduct cheap restaurants, patronized largely by workingmen. In Portland they also conduct numerous tailor shops. On the whole, the Chinese have not shown the same progressiveness and competitive ability either in industry or in business for themselves as the Japanese. They have, however, occupied a more important place in manufacture, especially in San Francisco, where, until within the last twenty years, little cheap labor has been available from other sources.

The Japanese laborers have fallen heir to much of the work and the occupational and social position of the Chinese, whose diminishing numbers in the western states since 1890 have been mentioned. The history of the Japanese in this country can be understood in certain respects only when connected with that of the Chinese whose immigration was earlier and who, in decreasing numbers, have continued to work along with the members of the newer race.

Until 1898 the number of Japanese immigrating to the continental United States had never reached 2,000 in any one year. In 1900 the total number in the continental United States, excluding Alaska, was reported by the census as 24,326. From 1899-1900 to 1906-7 the number arriving from Japan, Mexico, and Canada varied between 4,319 (in 1905) and 12,626 (in 1900), while between January 1, 1902, and December 31, 1907, 37,000, attracted by the higher wages, better conditions, and better opportunities to establish themselves as farmers or as business men, came from the Hawaiian Islands to the mainland.

Since 1905 there has been a general and organized demand on the Pacific coast, and particularly in California, for the exclusion of Japanese laborers from the continental territory of the United States. The separation of Japanese from white children in the public schools of San Francisco, and other manifestations of anti-Japanese sentiment, together with a number of anti-Japanese measures under consideration by the legislature of California, precipitated an acute situation in 1906 and 1907. On the other hand it developed that the Japanese government had for some time looked with disfavor on the emigration of its working population to distant countries, and an understanding was therefore reached between the Japanese and the United States governments that the former should thenceforth issue passports to only such members of the laboring class as had been residents of this country and were returning here, were parents, wives, or children of residents of this country, or had an already possessed right to agricultural land.

During the year 1907-8 the number of Japanese who were admitted to the continental United States was 9544, and among them there were many of the class not presumed under the agreement to receive passports, but, as explaind by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, "the system did not begin to work smoothly in all of its details until the last month of the fiscal year." During the two years which have since elapsed, however, the numbers admitted have been very much smaller—2432 and 1552 for the two years, respectively. Of the 2432 admitted in 1908-9, 768 were former residents, leaving 1664 who came for the first time. A comparatively small number who were admitted came with passports to which, according to the understanding of the Bureau of Immigration, they were not entitled, while some were admitted who did not possess passports to this country properly made out. The great majority of the much-reduced number admitted, however, have been of the nonlaboring class—1719 of the 2432 admitted in 1908-9. Though a large percentage of the nonlaborers take work as wage laborers upon their arrival in this country, and the class excluded are not just the same as under the Chinese exclusion law, the regulation is undoubtedly effective at present in preventing any "detriment to labor conditions."

A large percentage of those who have come recently have been the wives and children of Japanese already in this country.

The great majority of the Japanese in this country have been employed in railroad and general construction work, as agricultural laborers, cannery hands, lumber-mill and logging-camp laborers, in the various branches of domestic service and in business establishments conducted by their countrymen. Smaller numbers have been employed in coal and ore mining, smelting, meat packing, and salt making. In the building trades they have done little save in making repairs and in doing cabinet work for their countrymen. They have found little place in manufacturing establishments in cities. In contrast to the Chinese, they have found little employment in shoe, clothing, and cigar factories. That they have seldom been considered for inside work of the kind in which the Chinese were formerly extensively employed, is explained by a number of facts. A hostile public sentiment, with the boycott in the background, was sufficient to cause many of the employers to discharge their Chinese employees. This experience with Chinese labor has caused most employers to look elsewhere than to the Japanese, for laborers needed in such industries. More important, perhaps, is the fact that, coincident with the immigration of the Japanese, cheap labor of other kinds has become available in the large number of Italians, Russians, Porto Ricans, Spaniards, and others finding places in the population of San Francisco, where most of the manufacturing is conducted. The labor of these classes, and especially of the women and children, has been cheaper than that of the Japanese for the making of cigars and work of that character. Finally, in machine shops, foundries, and similar places, they have seldom been given employment, for these trades are well organized and there has been strong opposition by union men to the employment of Asiatics as helpers or as common laborers.

In 1909 it is probable that not far from 30,000 Japanese were engaged in agricultural pursuits in California during the summer months. As laborers they occupy a dominant position in most of the intensive, specialized agriculture which has come to prevail, and especially in that which involves much hand work and is seasonal in character. They occupy substantially the position held by the Chinese twenty years ago in the same and similar industries.

Though in many localities the Japanese laborers were at first received with great favor, widespread dissatisfaction with them

is now found and they are almost always disparagingly compared with the Chinese, who, because they are careful workmen, faithful to the employer, uncomplaining, easily satisfied with regard to living quarters, and not ambitious to learn new processes and to establish themselves as independent farmers, are used in the older agricultural districts as the standard by which others are measured. Indeed, while the largest number of Japanese were arriving and there was no great question of an insufficincy of numbers, there was a demand for a limited immigration of Chinese. Though many ranchers think that for social reasons it would be a mistaken policy to readmit the Chinese, they generally regard Asiatic laborers as indispensible to the prosperity and expansion of the agricultural industries which have become predominant in the state, and their almost unanimous preference is for Chinese rather than any other Asiatic race.

## REVIEW OF EXCLUSION HISTORY [1]

Chinese immigration to California dates from the period of the gold rush, when a few members of the merchant class arrived at San Francisco. They were welcomed, and in fact honored, partly on their own account but chiefly because of the promise, which their presence afforded, of a great commerce with the Orient. They sent back favorable reports of their reception and the prospects of advancement in the new land. Immediately the tide of immigration set in. In little more than a year (1851) 14,000 Chinese had landed in the state. A large fleet of vessels was employed in the "coolie trade," as it was thus early designated, at the rate of fifty dollars per head. During the two years, 1853-1855, the approximate numbers of Chinese in California fluctuated between 22,000 and 39,000.

The welcome accorded the firstcomers from the Flowery Land was short-lived. The great majority of the immigrants were of the coolie class, and of course sought employment in the mining industry. The characteristics of this class of immigration immediately became apparent. In 1852 (that is, within two or three years following the advent of the first immigrants) the

[1] By Walter Macarthur, United States Shipping Commissioner. Annals of the American Academy. 93:38-42. January, 1921.

public feeling against Chinese labor had reached an acute point. Then began the agitation for Chinese exclusion, which continued without intermission for fifty years, and which has been continued in the case of its correlated phase throughout the subsequent period of eighteen years, down to the present time, a total period of sixty-eight years.

From the beginning of the agitation the race factor was recognized as fundamental, and all efforts to cope with the evil were directed toward the ultimate object of exclusion. Probably the most comprehensive treatment of the subject is contained in *A History of California Labor Legislation,* compiled by Lucile Eaves and issued by the University of California. From that work we gather the following details of the exclusion movement.

In the period 1852-1872 numerous measures were enacted by the state and municipal authorities. In general these measures took the form of taxation. An example of the policy of "exclusion by taxation" is seen in the act of the California Legislature (1852) which, by requiring a bond of $500 for every alien passenger landed, sought to accomplish the object of state exclusion without running counter to federal authority. Many municipal ordinances were aimed in the same direction. A laundry tax, prohibitive in effect, was imposed. A cubic air space regulation, likewise prohibitive, was enacted. It was made a misdemeanor for any person on the sidewalks to carry baskets suspended on a pole across the shoulders. Another ordinance prohibited the employment of Chinese on public works. The principle of the latter measure, which was described as "exclusion by starvation," was subsequently embodied in the State Constitution (1879) in two provisions, one of which prohibited the employment of Chinese or Mongolians by any corporation, while the other prohibited their employment on public works, "except in punishment for crime." The former of these provisions was declared unconstitutional, but the latter remains a part of the State Constitution.

In general these measures failed in their object, largely because the authorities were unable or unwilling to enforce them, but chiefly because they went beyond the legislative powers of the state and municipality. The pole-carrying ordinance was upheld by the State Supreme Court, as a reasonable exercise of the

police power. Practically all other measures aimed against the Chinese were declared unconstitutional, either by the state or federal courts.

The policy of actual exclusion by the state was attempted by an act of the Legislature passed in 1852. By the terms of that measure no Chinese or Mongolian was allowed to land in the state. Masters of vessels were subject to a fine of $400 to $600, or imprisonment for from six months to a year, or both such fine and imprisonment, for knowingly permitting the landing of Chinese. This attempt at direct exclusion was, of course, declared unconstitutional.

In every instance the failure of these attempts to deal with the question by the exercise of state or municipal powers resulted in increased agitation, accompanied by increasingly drastic proposals and occasionally by open violence, culminating in the forcible expulsion of the Chinese from many localities. It is to be noted, however, that public feeling was the result of resentment against the failure of Congress to act upon the demand for exclusion, rather than of disappointment over the failure of the local measures. It appears that the real motive inspiring many of the local efforts was admonitory—that is to say, these efforts were designed as a warning to Congress and the people in other localities and to impress upon them the need of federal legislation. The resolutions and memorials issued by numerous public and quasi-public bodies uniformly recited the failure of all local efforts to secure relief, by way of prelude to the demand for Congressional action.

The Burlingame Treaty (1868) between the United States and China recognized the "mutual advantages of free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from one country to the other for the purposes of curiosity, of trade, or of permanent residence." A single reservation was made by amendment, to the effect that nothing in the treaty should be held to confer the right of naturalization in either case. Thus the action of the federal government increased rather than allayed the dissatisfaction of the people in the West. This condition was further aggravated by the discussion which shortly afterward (1870) took place in Congress in connection with a bill to revise the naturalization laws. During the debate on the proposal to extend the rights of citizenship to aliens of African descent and persons of African nativity, an effort was made to include

"persons born in the Chinese Empire." The attempt to extend the rights of citizenship to the Chinese failed, but as a result of that attempt the whole question of Chinese immigration was fully presented to Congress for the first time.

In 1880 a new treaty with China was concluded, in which that country agreed that "the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it."

The first exclusion act was passed in 1882. As originally enacted it prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers for a period of twenty years. This bill was vetoed by President Arthur, who, following the example of President Hayes in the matter of the so-called Fifteen Passenger bill (1879), declared that the Exclusion bill violated the treaty, inasmuch as neither contracting party had contemplated so long a suspension as twenty years, or would have considered such a period a "reasonable" suspension or limitation. The bill was immediately amended to limit the period of suspension to ten years. In this form it was reënacted and approved by the President (May 6, 1882).

In 1884 the Exclusion Act was amended to prohibit the entry of Chinese not only from China but also from "any foreign port or place." Other defects in the law became apparent, and in 1888 a bill was passed regulating the conditions under which a Chinese laborer, having left the United States, should be permitted to return. Notwithstanding all efforts to insure absolute exclusion, the Census of 1890 showed an increase of 2,000 Chinese in the United States (total 107,000), as compared with the figures of 1880.

In 1891 the Legislature of California passed an exclusion law, in accordance, presumably, with the policy of admonition previously adopted. Of course this second adventure into the realm of federal jurisdiction met the fate of its predecessor. It would seem, however, that the admonition was not entirely in vain.

In 1892 the Geary Act was passed. This measure extended the original exclusion law and all supplementary legislation for an additional period of ten years. In 1893 the McCreary Act was passed, extending the time allowed for registration and discontinuing all proceedings for violation of the former act. In 1894 a treaty between the United States and China was adopted, in which the latter country agreed to the exclusion laws. In 1902 the present Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, renewing for an

indefinite period all laws prohibiting and regulating the coming of Chinese laborers from China, from any foreign port or place, and from or to the Island territory of the United States.

On many occasions during the long discussion of the subject reference was made to the Japanese, varied by the use of the terms, "Asiatic" and "Mongolian." But for the question of "practical politics" the demand for exclusion would have included the Japanese. The latter were omitted from the exclusion laws, not because of any distinction in their favor but solely because it was deemed wise to concentrate effort upon the actual evil of Chinese immigration rather than risk failure by an attempt to forestall events.

## THE JAPANESE QUESTION IN CALIFORNIA [1]

Japanese immigration did not become noticeable until the year 1900. In that year over twelve thousand Japanese entered the country. At this practically unheralded influx California instantly took alarm. The history of Chinese immigration had taught Californians the almost uncanny way in which an Asiatic influx could suddenly increase from nothing to portentous proportions. By 1905 the Japanese in California had become an international question owing to the diplomatic crisis over the San Francisco school segregation episode. This crisis, together with the rising tide of Japanese immigrants and the consequent alarm of the Pacific Coast, convinced the Federal Government that quick action was imperative. The upshot was the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907—an attempt by our government to stop Japanese immigration without wounding Japanese susceptibilities. By this Agreement the Japanese Government agreed to discontinue the granting of passports to *laborers*.

The "Gentlemen's Agreement" (which still governs Japanese immigration to the United States) at first seemed to meet all expectations. In 1907, the year of its making, over thirty thousand Japanese entered this country. In 1908, the number of Japanese immigrants was only eighteen thousand, and in 1909 it fell to a trifle over three thousand. That, however, was the low-water mark. During the past decade Japanese immigration has been

[1] By Lothrop Stoddard, author of "The rising tide of color," 1920. Annals of the American Academy. 93:42-7. January, 1921.

steadily rising, until in 1919 the number admitted was over sixteen thousand. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" has, in fact, satisfied neither the inhabitants of the Pacific Coast nor the experts of our Bureau of Immigration. Our Government, in negotiating the Agreement, aimed at restricting the influx of Japanese to a point similar to that already attained by the Chinese Exclusion Act; *i.e.*, to travellers, students, teachers, scientists and merchants engaged in international trade. But, by the terms of the Agreement, Japan limits her refusal of passports only to "laborers." To all other classes there is no bar. For example, farmers (as contrasted with farm laborers) do not fall within the prohibited class; and it is precisely these Japanese farmers who have been so active in that acquirement of agricultural land which has so alarmed the Coast and has led to California's restrictive legislation.

Not merely California but adjacent western states have sought by legislative measures to stop the development of Asiatic agricultural colonies on their soil. In 1912, for example, Arizona passed such legislation. It was, however, California's famous Heney-Webb Land Act which brought on a diplomatic crisis between the American and Japanese governments more acute even than that of 1905. Japan protested strongly against such legislation, but the Federal Government upheld California as being within her legal rights. It is interesting to observe that the Californians were strengthened in their determination by the influx of a third type of Asiatic—the Hindu. The number of Hindus actually admitted was small, but the only reason was the uncompromising attitude of the immigration officers, who invoked every legal technicality to bar them out. These intensely objectionable Asiatics were desperately anxious to get in, and they were but the pioneers of countless swarms eager to come to America. Here was another Asiatic reservoir of over 300 million souls threatening to deluge the Coast. What wonder that the Coast became more determined than ever that Asiatics of whatever breed must be rigorously excluded if the Coast was to be kept a white man's country? What wonder that anti-Japanese sentiment grew ever stronger, especially when it became evident that the "Gentlemen's Agreement" failed to exclude and that the Japanese were gaining, both by immigration and by birth, an ever stronger hold on the land?

It was the latter element—the American-born Japanese—

which was most disquieting to Californians. The early Japanese influx, like the still earlier Chinese influx, had been one of male laborers, bringing few or no women. But as time passed the Japanese, settling on the land, sent for their wives or contracted marriages by proxy with girls in the old country, the courtship frequently consisting in an exchange of photographs—whence the term "picture brides." These women bore their husbands many children, who, being born on American soil, were American citizens, untouchable by any anti-Asiatic legislation. It was, in fact, by grants to these children that the Japanese were mainly able to circumvent the Heney-Webb Land Act prohibiting the ownership of land by aliens ineligible to citizenship.

The renewed anti-Asiatic efforts of the Coast first showed in the "Barred Zone" clause of the Immigration Act of 1917. This clause, embodied in Section 3 of the Act, excludes from the United States natives of the territories included within such zone not belonging to certain specified classes such as government officials, travellers for curiosity or pleasure, and persons of certain specified professional occupations. This Barred Zone includes the greater part of Asia. Japan lies outside of it. Nevertheless, it strikes indirectly at Japanese immigration by the fact that, taken in conjunction with the Chinese Exclusion Act, it debars virtually all Asiatics except the Japanese, who are still covered by the "Gentlemen's Agreement." Thus Japanese immigrants have become exceptions to our Asiatic exclusionist rule. The Hindus, for instance, are henceforth automatically excluded. Furthermore, the experts of our Immigration Bureau heartily endorse the Barred Zone idea and recommend that it be extended to cover not merely the whole of Asia but all of the rest of the non-white world. In his 1919 report the Commissioner-General states that the Barred Zone idea offers the best means of protecting ourselves from fresh influxes of unassimilable aliens.

Meanwhile, California was preparing to deal with her Japanese problem by fresh state legislation. The Heney-Webb Land Act not having fulfilled expectations, remedial legislation of a very drastic nature was proposed in the spring of 1919. At that time Secretary of State Lansing cabled the California authorities from Versailles (the Peace Conference being then in session) that any anti-Japanese legislation might seriously compromise the world-settlement. Accordingly, California deferred action. However, Californians intended this only as a temporary postponement of action and deemed it an absolute necessity. Fur-

thermore, they felt that federal as well as state action was imperative if the Japanese problem was to be satisfactorily solved. In order to present California's case in the strongest possible way, Governor Stephens instructed the State Board of Control to make a thorough investigation of the status of Asiatics in California. Accordingly, the Board drew up a very minute statistical report of its survey, submitting it to the Governor in the spring of 1920. This report discusses the status of Asiatics in California (Japanese, Chinese and Hindus) from every important angle. Its contents can not even be summarized within the limits of this paper, but the outstanding fact is that, whereas the Chinese and Hindus are rapidly decreasing, the Japanese are rapidly increasing, with a phenomenally high birth-rate and remarkable economic success, especially in the acquisition of land holdings.

This report was forwarded to the Secretary of State together with an explanatory covering-letter by Governor Stephens, whose strongly worded recommendations may be summed up in the phrase: "The people of California are determined to repress a developing Japanese community within our midst." Federal aid was asked by "an exclusion act passed by Congress" which should "provide for the full exclusion of all Japanese, saving certain selected classes." Meanwhile California herself took action by formulating drastic legislation aimed at stopping the leaks in the Heney-Webb Act and at preventing the further acquisition of land by Japanese. The new measure was not brought up in the legislature but was in the form of an initiative measure to be submitted to the voters on Election Day, November 2, 1920. This was to give the measure the character of a popular referendum and an advertisement to the whole country of California's stand on the Asiatic immigration question. The measure passed by an overwhelming majority.

## THE GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT[1]

I have before me here the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration of 1908, page 125, chapter 4, "Japanese immigration," and I understand this is the only printed reference in

[1] In "Percentage plans for the restriction of immigration." Hearings before the committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, United States Congress, June 20, 1919.

a book which is now out of print, to the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement," and the purpose which it was intended to serve.

To section 1 of the immigration act approved February 20, 1907, a proviso was attached reading as follows:

"That whenever the President shall be satisfied that passports issued by any foreign Government to its citizens to go to any other country than the United States or to any insular possession of the United States or to the Canal Zone are being used for the purpose of enabling the holders to come to the continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor conditions therein, the President may refuse to permit such citizens of the country issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States from such other territory or from such insular possessions or from the Canal Zone."

The following is the comment of the commissioner general:

This legislation was the result of a growing alarm, particularly on the Pacific coast and in States adjacent to Canada and Mexico, that labor conditions would be seriously affected by a continuation of the then existing rate of increase in admissions to this country of Japanese of the laboring classes.

Mark you, this was in 1907:

The Japanese Government had always maintained a policy opposed to the emigration to continental United States of its subjects belonging to such classes; but it had found that passports granted by said Government to such subjects entitling them to proceed to Hawaii or to Canada or Mexico were being used to evade the said policy and gain entry to continental United States. On the basis of the above-quoted provision, the President, on March 14, 1907, issued a proclamation excluding from continental United States "Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled or unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, and come therefrom" (Department Circular No. 147, dated Mar. 26, 1907), which has been continued in force as rule 21 of the Immigration Regulations of July 1, 1907, outlined the policy and procedure to be followed by the immigration officials in giving effect to the law and proclamation.

In order that the best results might follow from an enforcement of the regulations, an understanding was reached with Japan that the existing policy of discouraging the emigration of its subjects of the laboring classes to continental United States should be continued and should, by cooperation, of the Governments, be made as effective as possible. This understanding contemplates that the Japanese Government shall issue passports to continental United States only to such of its subjects as are nonlaborers or are laborers who, in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife, or children, residing there, or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country; so that the three classes of laborers entitled to receive passports have come to be designated "former residents," "parents, wives, or children of residents," and "settled agriculturists." With respect to Hawaii, the Japanese Government of its own volition stated that, experimentally at least, the issuance of passports to members of the laboring classes proceeding thence would be limited to "former residents" and "parents, wives, or children of residents." The said Government has also been exercising a careful supervision over the subject of the emigration of its laboring class to foreign contiguous territory.

It will be seen, therefore, that the report for the past fiscal year covers a novel phase of the immigration question, viz, the exclusion from the continental portion of this country of certain classes of aliens, such exclusion being based in part upon the provision of law mentioned, but principally upon the mutual understanding of the two countries affected, and to be brought about largely by said two countries uniting upon a policy, agreed by both to be necessary and desirable, one of the coun-

tries exercising control over the departure and the other over the admissions of the persons whose emigration and immigration it is desired mutually to control. It is believed that the tables and comments furnished constitute a striking illustration of what far-reaching and desirable results may be expected to ensue when two equally interested countries cooperate in good faith toward their accomplishment. All that is necessary is that there shall exist a clear conception of the object sought by each country, a working understanding of the field to be covered and the administrative details to be carried out, and general good faith upon the part of all concerned.

## THE JAPANESE QUESTION IN CALIFORNIA [1]

Under the Naturalization Act as now interpreted, the Japanese are included among the races ineligible to American citizenship.

On April 4 Viscount Chinda, the Japanese Ambassador, informally drew the attention of the Department of State to a bill introduced in the California legislature prohibiting the holding or leasing of land by aliens not eligible to citizenship. The Federal Alien Ownership Act of 1897 prohibits ownership of land in the District of Columbia or any territory of the United States by aliens not eligible to citizenship, with the proviso that the law shall not be construed to affect treaty obligations conferring the right to own and hold land in the United States. Several states, notably New York and Texas, have prohibited altogether alien ownership of real property; Arizona passed a similar law in 1913; and as a universal privilege to own and hold property has been granted to no foreign Power, general state legislation of this sort contravenes none of the treaty obligations of the Federal Government. The Japanese protest against the California legislation was based on the contention that the restriction of the prohibition to aliens ineligible to citizenship was a discrimination against the Japanese in violation of the American-Japanese treaty of 1911.

The bill was passed by the lower house of the California legislature on April 15. On the 22d President Wilson telegraphed to Governor Johnson as follows:

I appeal with the utmost confidence to the people, the Governor and the legislature of California to act in the matter now under consideration in a manner that cannot from any point of view be fairly challenged or called in question. If they deem it necessary to exclude all aliens who have not declared their intention to become citizens from the privileges of land ownership, they can do so along lines already followed in the laws of many of the other states and foreign countries, including Japan herself.

[1] American Year Book, 1913. p. 16-17. D. Appleton & Co. 1914.

Governor Johnson replied that any act passed, while it would relate only to aliens ineligible to citizenship, would be general in character, and would provide specifically against the possibility of a construction affecting or impairing any rights secured by treaty. The President then suggested that Mr. Bryan proceed to Sacramento to explain to the Governor and legislature in person the position of the Department of State. Governor Johnson accepted the suggestion, but proceeded on April 24 to prejudice the issue by a statement upholding the doctrine of state rights and criticizing the Federal Government for interference in California's local affairs. After his arrival in Sacramento on April 28 Mr. Bryan met the Governor and legislature in three secret conferences. He endeavored to secure the postponement of all land-tenure legislation and suggested the possibility of a new treaty with Japan. The most he was able to secure was the substitution for the pending measure of a new bill drafted by Attorney-General Webb. President Wilson warned the Governor that the Webb bill, notwithstanding its careful language, would "involve and appeal to the courts on the question of treaty rights, and bring on what might be long and delicate litigation." The measure was nevertheless passed by both branches of the legislature on May 3, and received the Governor's signature on the 19th, going into effect on Aug. 17.

The Webb Alien Land-Holding Act eliminates the objectionable phrase "ineligible to citizenship," but preserves its effect by providing that all aliens eligible to citizenship may acquire and hold land on the same terms as citizens, while all other aliens are limited to the rights specifically secured to them by treaty. With regard to the Japanese the Act enacted the specific limitations of the treaty of 1911 which omits all mention of land ownership as one of the rights mutually accorded to the citizens or subjects of the two nations. The treaty reads:

> Citizens of subjects of each of the high contracting parties shall have liberty . . . to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses and shops . . . to lease land for residential and commercial purposes. . . .

The Japanese are thus prohibited from the ownership of agricultural land, while they are permitted to own real property used for residence or commercial purposes. Present holdings of ineligible aliens, however, are not affected, but the owners are deprived of their right to sell or devise their real property to other aliens of the same class. Leases of agricultural land to ineligible

aliens are permitted for a term not exceeding three years. The Department of State holds that the Webb Act is not in violation of the Japanese Treaty; the protests of Japan, are based on the demand of national honor and have involved the delicate question of the admission of the Japanese to American citizenship.

## AMENDMENT OF NOVEMBER 2, 1920[1]

SECTION 1. All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit and inherit real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this state.

SECTION 2. All aliens other than those mentioned in section one of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and for the purpose prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise.

SECTION 3. Any company, association or corporation organized under the laws of this or any other state or nation, of which a majority of the members are aliens other than those specified in section one of this act, or in which a majority of the issued capital stock is owned by such aliens, may acquire, possess, enjoy and convey real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the nation or country of which such members or stockholders are citizens or subjects, and not otherwise. Hereafter all aliens other than those specified in section one hereof may become members of or acquire shares of stock in any company, association or corporation that is or may be authorized to acquire, possess, enjoy or convey agricultural land, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise.

SECTION 4. Hereafter no alien mentioned in section two

[1] From "The anti-Japanese question in California," by Baron Shimpei Goto, Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan. Annals of the American Academy. 93:107. January, 1921.

hereof and no company, association or corporation mentioned in section three hereof, may be appointed guardian of that portion of the estate of a minor which consists of property which such alien or such company, association or corporation is inhibited from acquiring, possessing, enjoying or transferring by reason of the provisions of this act. The public administrator of the proper county, or any other competent person or corporation, may be appointed guardian of the estate of a minor citizen whose parents are ineligible to appointment under the provisions of this section.

The particular parts of the constitution and the treaty brought into discussion in connection with the above legislations are as follows:

The fourteenth amendment of the constitution of the United States provides that "no states shall make or enforce any law which shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Section one of the treaty of 1911 between the United States and Japan states that:

The subjects or citizens of each of the High Contracting Parties shall have liberty to enter, travel and reside in the territories of the other, to carry on trade, wholesale and retail, to own or lease or occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses and shops, to employ agents of their choice, to lease land for residential or commercial purposes, and generally to do anything incident to or necessary for trade upon the same terms as native subjects or citizens.

Those who contend that the proposed measures violate neither the constitution nor the treaty base their case on the absence of the word "agricultural" or other general terms that will cover agriculture in the treaty, and they contend that the "equal protection of law" guaranteed in the constitution applies in this case only to rights specifically stated in the treaty. Those who hold the contrary view argue that the word "commercial" in the treaty implies agriculture, on the ground that commerce is impossible without production. They cite also the most favored nation clause in another part of the treaty, which they interpret as a general principle and the pervading spirit of the treaty. They bring also the precedent of the supreme court of the state of Washington in 1907, in which similar legislations were declared unconstitutional.

# RESTRICTIONS ON ASIATIC IMMIGRATION IN AUSTRALIA, CANADA, AND NEW ZEALAND [1]

1. Australia:

*a. General.*—With a view to the restriction of Asiatic immigration, the immigration of the following immigrants is prohibited:

"(*a*) Any person who fails to pass the dictation test. That is to say, who, where an officer dictates to him not less than 50 words in any prescribed language, fails to write them out in that language in the presence of the officer.

"No regulation prescribing any language or languages shall have any force until it has been laid before both houses of the Parliament for 30 days, and, before or after the expiration of such 30 days, both houses of the Parliament by a resolution of which notice has been given, have agreed to such regulation." (Stats., 1902-1905, pp. 426-427.)

No specific restrictions other than the above are placed on Chinese and Japanese.

*b. Contract immigrants.*—The contract immigrants act, 1905 (Stats., 1905, No. 19), regulates the admission of immigrants under contract to perform manual labor. Contracts must be in writing, made by or on behalf of some person named and resident in Australia. They are subject to ministerial approval, which may be withheld if the fulfillment of the contract is likely to be prejudicial to the public welfare, either as affecting an industrial dispute, or as to the conditions of, and standards prevailing in, local industry. It may be withheld, also, if there is insufficient evidence of difficulty in obtaining a worker of equal skill and ability within the commonwealth. This latter provision is not applicable to contract immigrants who are British subjects, born in the United Kingdom or descended from a British subject there born; nor does the act apply to domestic servants and personal attendants accompanying their employers. (N. S. W. Yearbook, 1916, p. 804.)

2. Canada:

*a. Chinese.*—Every person of Chinese origin, irrespective of

[1] In "Percentage plans for the restriction of immigration," Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, United States Congress. p. 295-6.

allegiance, shall pay into the consolidated revenue fund of Canada, on entering Canada, at the port or place of entry, a tax of $500, except the following persons, who shall be exempt from such payment, that is to say:

(*a*) Members of the diplomatic corps. * * *

(*b*) The children born in Canada of parents of Chinese origin and who have left Canada for educational or other purposes, on substantiating their identity to the satisfaction of the controller at the port or place where they seek to enter on their return.

(*c*) (1) Merchants, their wives and minor children. (2) The wives and minor children of clergymen. (3) Tourists. (4) Men of science. (5) (subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the governor in council) Duly certified teachers; who shall substantiate their status to the satisfaction of the controller, subject to the approval of the minister, or who are bearers of certificates of identity, or other similar documents issued by the Government or by a recognized official or representative of the Government whose subjects they are, specifying their occupation and their object in coming into Canada. * * *

(*d*) A student of Chinese origin who upon first entering Canada has substantiated his status as such to the satisfaction of the controller, subject to the approval of the minister, and who is the bearer of a certificate of identity, or other similar document issued by the Government or a recognized official or representative of the government whose subject he is, and who at the time satisfies the controller that he is entering Canada for the purpose of securing a higher education in one of the recognized universities or in some other educational institution approved by the governor in council for the purpose of this section, and who afterwards furnishes the satisfactory proof that he has been a bona fide student in such university or educational institution for a period of one year shall be entitled to a refund of the tax paid by him upon his entry into Canada. (Rev. Stats., 1906, chap. 95; 7-8 Edw. VII, chap. 14.)

(Note.—The Chinese immigration act was amended in 1919 to apply more generally than to Chinese. An unofficial summary in the Review of Reviews (August, 1919, p. 196) includes the following changes: The barring of all skilled and unskilled labor from Asia. To admit only such people as can be readily absorbed and assimilated. To abolish, possibly, the head tax

on Chinese and enter into an agreement with the Chinese Government to admit only limited numbers.)

3. New Zealand:

*a. General.*—Prohibited immigrants include the following:

(*a*) Any person other than of British or Irish birth and parentage who, when asked so to do by an officer appointed under this act by the governor, fails to himself write out and sign, in the presence of such officer, in any European language, an application in the form numbered (2) in the second schedule hereto, or in such other form as the minister of internal affairs from time to time directs:

Provided that any person dissatisfied with the decision of such officer shall have the right to appeal to the nearest magistrate, who shall make such inquiry as he thinks fit, and his decision thereon shall be final. (Citation Con. Stats., 1908, v. 2, p. 714.)

*b. Chinese.*—A poll tax of £100 is levied on every Chinese immigrant.

The number of Chinese which a ship may bring is limited to one for every 200 tons of tonnage.

Exceptions: Chinese duly accredited to New Zealand by the Government of China, or by or under the authority of the Imperial Government, on any special mission, (Con. Stats., 1908, vol. 2, p. 717.)

## IMMIGRATION FROM JAPAN (NOT INCLUDING TRANSIENTS)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1893 | 1,380 | 1906 | 13,835 |
| 1894 | 1,931 | 1907 | 30,226 |
| 1895 | 1,150 | 1908 | 15,803 |
| 1896 | 1,110 | 1909 | 3,111 |
| 1897 | 1,526 | 1910 | 2,720 |
| 1898 | 2,230 | 1911 | 4,520 |
| 1899 | 2,844 | 1912 | 6,136 |
| 1900 | 12,635 | 1913 | 8,281 |
| 1901 | 5,269 | 1914 | 8,929 |
| 1902 | 14,270 | 1915 | 8,613 |
| 1903 | 19,968 | 1916 | 8,680 |
| 1904 | 14,264 | 1917 | 8,991 |
| 1905 | 10,331 | 1918 | 10,213 |

# AFFIRMATIVE DISCUSSION

## THE JAPANESE AND THE PACIFIC COAST[1]

Anti-Japanese agitation, or anti-Japanism as it has been called, is no new or novel thing in California. In 1900 it had first made an appearance but, as has been previously stated, secured nothing in the way of definite results. Not until 1906 did it succeed in arousing any general sentiment hostile to the Japanese. During that year much of San Francisco had been destroyed by earthquake and fire and the few school-rooms in use were greatly overcrowded. Seizing upon this situation as an excuse, certain individuals advanced the demand that separate schools be provided for the Japanese, and withdrew the demand only when President Roosevelt intervened and agreed to endeavor to induce Japan to prohibit new labor immigration to the United States. In this endeavor, the President was successful, for Japan, through an informal understanding, known as "the Gentlemen's Agreement", promised to prevent the immigration of new laborers to continental United States. This, according to official evidence, she has done, as will be fully recounted later in this article.

With the putting of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" into operation, anti-Japanism subsided, but in 1913 it came into active life again. This time the demand was for a law prohibiting Japanese from purchasng agricultural land and limiting their leasehold thereof to three years. The Federal Executive, in opposition to the measure, sent Secretary of State Bryan across the continent to Sacramento, but to no purpose, for the bill was enacted into law. With the passage of this law, anti-Japanism again disappeared. All during the late war—while the Japanese fleet was protecting our commerce and other interests by patrolling the Pacific—the most cordial relations existed between the two peoples. But the Armistice had hardly been signed before agitation against the Japanese again manifested itself; however,

[1] By R. W. Ryder, lawyer and a resident of California. North American Review. 213:1-15. January, 1921.

not until it had been resuscitated and energized by one of California's United States Senators who was soon to be a candidate for reëlection, and who has since been defeated at the polls. This Senator, Mr. Phelan, appeared in California early in 1919, and at once made a visit to the Immigration Stations at San Francisco and Los Angeles; whereupon, he issued a statement characterizing the Japanese situation as a menace. Next, he addressed the State Legislature on the Japanese question. Prior to his address, although the Legislature had been in session for almost two months, it had done nothing regarding the Japanese. But a few days afterward, several anti-Japanese measures were introduced and were only defeated through the influence of the Governor who had received and made public a cablegram from Secretary of State Lansing, then in Versailles, stating in effect that passage of legislation antagonistic to the Japanese might embarrass the negotiation of the peace treaty. For thus acceding to the wishes of the Federal Government, the Governor was roundly abused, but nevertheless he refused to recede from his stand. He had already ordered the State Board of Control to investigate thoroughly the Japanese situation in the State, and to all who urged him to call a Special Session of the Legislature to enact anti-Japanese legislation, he replied that the question was of such importance that no solution of its problems should be attempted before a careful investigation had been made, and that such investigation and any subsequent action that might be taken should be kept entirely free from politics.

For reasons known only to themselves, the leaders in the movement against the Japanese refused to await the result and findings of this investigation and proceeded at once to prepare an initiative measure which, as this is written, has just been carried at the polls. By its terms the measure re-affirms the inhibitions of farm land ownership imposed by the law of 1913, and adds a new provision which denies to Japanese the right to lease farm land for any period at all. Also, it forbids them acquiring or holding any stock in a corporation owning farm land, or to act as guardians for their American-born children in any matter in which farm land is involved. Exceedingly drastic as are its terms, the measure was carried by a large majority, though by nowhere near as great a one as its proponents had predicted. However, its passage was not unexpected, for the anti-Japanists, aided by a large part of the State press, conducted a campaign

which succeeded in arousing a statewide sentiment intensely hostile to the Japanese, a sentiment which it was impossible for the latter to combat because of the fact that all ordinary avenues of publicity were closed to them. Few of the "arts and practices" of cheap politics and yellow journalism were overlooked by those opposing the Japanese, and inaccuracies and overstatements seemed to be more the rule than the exception. Even while the Congressional Committee on Immigration was in California last summer, trying its best to make a fair and comprehensive investigation of the situation, the anti-Japanists and that part of the press in sympathy with their efforts continued this character of agitation. Sensational charges which were later proved to have been predicated on information and belief were frequent, and that part of the press already alluded to adopted the old practice of "playing up" in glaring headlines all that was unfavorable to the Japanese, and either burying in the body of the article or omitting altogether anything that favored them. Also, it was guilty of serious inaccuracies, of which the following will provide a sample: When the members of the Immigration Committee visited the Angel Island Immigration Station in San Francisco Bay, newspaper men accompanied them. While there the Committee observed and interrogated a number of "picture brides" who had arrived from Japan the day before. There were exactly ten of these women, as the official record will show and as was known to all the newspaper men present; and yet some of the newspapers gave the number of such "picture brides" as forty, and some as seventy-two. Why the actual number was multiplied by four in some instances and by seven in others, is beyond conjecture, but the public, reading those newspapers and having no other source of information, was further misled. Many other incidents of a like nature could be cited, and a fair observer could not escape the belief that a great deal of the inaccuracy was deliberate. In any event, it is no wonder, to any one familiar with the circumstances, that sentiment against the Japanese has rapidly developed, for the public, depending upon the press for information, has reacted normally to what it has read.

Adverting again to the initiative measure which has just been passed, it would seem that its practical effect will be to drive the Japanese from the land to industry, from the farms to the cities; as most of these people who are now here will

remain. Recognizing this, labor bodies in Stockton and Sacramento adopted resolutions declaring for fair treatment of all people lawfully in our midst and asserting that they were "opposed to the removal of Orientals from the land to industry." However, other labor organizations endorsed the initiative measure, so that there has been no unanimity in the opinion of labor on this matter. As to what will happen when the Japanese are driven from the soil, the anti-Japanese appear to have no concern. All that they have said in this connection is that American farmers will take the places of the Japanese thus removed, a claim which is vigorously disputed by men who are either large land-owners or otherwise closely in touch with farming conditions. The latter strongly contend that during the last few years Americans have shown a tendency to abandon farming for occupations less hard and exacting, and that those remaining will not undertake to produce in any substantial way the crops now extensively raised by the Japanese, namely: small fruits, berries, tomatoes, asparagus and all kinds of green vegetables. American farmers, they assert, prefer to raise such crops as corn, barley, oats, wheat, beans, rice, alfalfa etc., which require less arduous labor to produce and are more easily handled. The Japanese, on the other hand, being short of stature, take readily to the kind of labor so necessary to intensive cultivation. Besides, they are accustomed to cultivating small parcels of land, and therefore are best suited for and most successful at this kind of farming. Regarding this phase of the matter, the report of the State Board of Control (*California and the Oriental*) has this to say:

### *Sudden Removal not Wise*

It is but proper to call attention to the fact that any sudden removal of the Japanese from their present agricultural pursuits in California would affect our food supply very seriously. The annual output of agricultural products by Japanese in 1919, approximately $67,000,000, consists of food products practically indispensable to the State's daily supply. The Japanese, being a race of short people, seem willing to engage in those lines of agricultural work which call for so-called "squat labor," or the class of "stoop-and-pick labor."

According to the United States census, the Japanese population of California in 1910 was 41,356. Now, according to an estimate of the State Board of Control, it is 87,279. The substantial increase shown is made much of by the anti-Japanists; in fact, it is one of their main arguments. An analysis of these

figures shows that most of the increase has been due to Japanese births which, during the last ten years, have amounted to 28,037. Add to this figure the ten or eleven thousand wives (including 5,749 "picture brides") who, since 1911, have arrived to join their husbands, and we find that the increase in Japanese population through *new* male immigration has amounted to only about six thousand for the ten year period. The total population of the State, according to latest census returns, is 3,426,000, which means that there are more than 3,338,000 non-Japanese residents of California. How that number of people can be "menaced" by 87,000 Japanese, it is very difficult to see.

California's total land area is a little more than 98,000,000 acres. Of this, 28,000,000 acres is farm land, of which the Japanese own or are buying upon contract (either individually or through American-Japanese corporations) 74,769 acres; and lease or operate upon crop shares, 383,287 acres. They operate, therefore, about 450,000 acres of farm land out of a total of 28,000,000 acres in the State. However, it cannot be said that they control even this much, for their actual control does not extend to land leased or operated upon crop shares, but only to land owned by them, which is less than 75,000 acres. Considering these figures —and they are all taken from the report of the State Board of Control—it is hard to believe that Japanese land operation is "menacing" California. There is much good land still uncultivated which, in all probability, will remain so for many years to come.

On the whole, conditions in California do not justify the claims of the anti-Japanists. True, there is widespread sentiment against the Japanese, but it has succeeded—not preceded —political agitation, and in the light of past experience one might safely venture the prediction that if political agitation were to cease, anti-Japanese sentiment would rapidly and practically subside.

No widespread sentiment antagonistic to the Japanese is to be found in the State of Washington. That which does exist is far less bitter than that in California, although there are about as many Japanese, in proportion to the total population of the State, as in California. But there has been no active, systematized agitation against the Japanese and, so far as could be ascertained, no one has tried or is trying to use the Japanese question as a means of securing political office. Furthermore,

the press has been fair and impartial. During the recent Hearings of the Immigration Committee in Seattle and Tacoma, the newspapers gave equal space and prominence to matter favoring, or disfavoring, the Japanese. Race prejudice has not been aroused, therefore, to any appreciable extent, and while there are individuals who are opposing the Japanese, they have been decent and tolerant and fair in such opposition and have zealously striven to keep their activities free from politics and from methods calculated to excite racial bitterness.

Still another reason for the present situation is to be found in the attitude of organized labor. Those active in labor circles have encouraged the unionizing of the Japanese as furnishing the most practicable means of preventing undesirable and unhealthy competition. As a result, a considerable number of Japanese have joined American unions, and many others belong to Japanese organizations which prescribe about the same hour and wage scales as prevail in similar trades among American unions. For instance, according to testimony given to the Immigration Committee, Japanese barbers in Seattle and Tacoma are organized and, with few exceptions, their shops charge the same prices and observe the same hours as regular American barbershops; and such is true to a large extent respecting Japanese laundries, in many of which a considerable number of other residents work side by side with the Japanese.

As to land matters, Japanese, as individuals, cannot own farm land (except when taken over in foreclosure proceedings), as a Constitutional provision inhibits all alien ownership of such land. (This provision was adopted before the State had a Japanese population of any size and was not, therefore, directed against the Japanese. Also, it applies with equal force to *all* aliens.) Corporations, in which the majority of stock is American-owned and the minority stock is Japanese-owned, have acquired some farm land, but not to any great extent. The law does, however, permit leasing of farm land, and Japanese lease approximately 25,000 acres, which is mostly devoted to truck gardening and berry raising, with some dairying. As far as could be observed, there was nothing like a general complaint concerning the land-leasing situation.

There are many Japanese in the stalls of the public markets, who, for the most part, are either representatives of or directly associated with the Japanese truck gardeners and berry-raisers

whose products they sell, and there has been some contention that because of their direct connection with the producer, these Japanese are able to undersell their white competitors. However, this is a condition that can easily be controlled through local regulations.

During the late war, Japanese began to acquire hotels and apartment houses in Seattle and Tacoma, and succeeded in securing quite a substantial number of the smaller ones. It appears, however, that they were unable to operate them profitably, and that many have relinquished such properties after having sustained a material financial loss.

In Seattle there are a good many Japanese grocery stores, and for a time there was considerable complaint concerning them in that by remaining open for longer hours and not closing on Sundays and holidays, they were injuring the business of their other competitors. However, there is now a movement under way—and apparently succeeding—to prevail upon Japanese grocers to observe the same opening and closing regulations as those established by the Retail Grocers' Association.

As to Japanese population, it is increasing normally; slightly by immigration but mainly through births, and although the birth rate is about the same as in California, there appeared to be no fear of Japanese "inundation." On the whole, public sentiment in Washington is sane and tolerant upon the Japanese question. The situation is not acute and not likely to become so unless, of course, there should be a cessation of the present restrictive immigration policy—a contingency wholly improbable; or a resort to extensive political agitation against the Japanese—of which there is no present indication.

Oregon has had very little anti-Japanese agitation. Once or twice efforts have been made to secure State legislation in opposition to the Japanese, but these have met with little favor and no more support. Consequently, there exists scarcely any sentiment antagonistic to the Japanese. In the State there are less than five thousand Japanese, who own 1,882 acres and lease 7,911 acres of farm land, the law permitting them to own as well as lease. Their holdings are individually small, are not concentrated in any particular community, and in the aggregate are decreasing. There are no farming communities in which Japanese predominate, either as to amount of land owned and operated or as to population, and in the cities there are no "Japanese

sections." In view of these facts, Oregon can be said to have no Japanese problem and, unless some totally unlooked-for change occurs, seems likely to have none.

Smuggling of Japanese into America is undoubtedly carried on, though probably not to any very great extent. No nation can control all of its nationals, and some Japanese of the class that, under the "Gentlemen's Agreement," would be denied passports, have come into the United States through "underground channels." But there is no evidence that either the Japanese Government or the responsible Japanese in this country have sanctioned or aided them. In fact, by requiring all Japanese leaving South America by steamship to buy "through" tickets to Japan, the Japanese Government has shown that it is doing everything possible to prevent smuggling. Also, the various Japanese associations in America have coöperated with our authorities to deport Japanese found to be unlawfully here. However, human nature is much the same the world over, and it is quite likely that if a Japanese in Mexico or Canada desired to come to the United States and found the boundary unguarded, he would not hesitate to cross the line. But the very few Japanese in Mexico and Canada appear to be prospering there, so the possibility of any substantial increase of Japanese population in the United States through smuggling is very small.

Though practically unaided by any governmental agency or activity, Americanization of the Japanese is making substantial progress. Credit for this is principally due to the schools and missions of the various Christian churches, of which there are some seventy-five in California alone, which are devoted exclusively to the Japanese. The schools proper are for the children, but most of the missions also maintain men and women workers (Americans) who go among the Japanese families and instruct them in American customs and ideas. Also, in every community where there is a substantial Japanese population, Japanese Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. units have been established, and Japanese Boy Scout companies organized. That the work is bearing fruit is evidenced by the mannerisms, ideas, ideals and general conduct of the Japanese children. A number of American-born Japanese young men and women testified before the Immigration Committee, and it was apparent that they were Americans in the fullest sense of the word.

The part that the Japanese language school has played in

Americanization is not generally realized because the public has been led to an entirely erroneous belief concerning the purpose of these schools. Listening to anti-Japanists, it has become imbued with the idea that such schools exist to inculcate in the minds of the Japanese children the ideas and customs of Japan, and to instill into their hearts love for the Japanese Empire. There is no competent evidence that this is the purpose of the schools which, in practice and despite their name, actually aid Americanization and social assimilation, for without them—as is the case generally with respect to foreign language schools—the connecting tie between parent and child would be dissipated. The parent, in most cases, speaks and understands little or no English, hence his acquaintance with American customs, ideas and ideals must come through the child. The Japanese themselves admit, however, that the usefulness of these schools will not extend beyond the present generation, for by that time the older Japanese (who are the ones that speak and understand so little English) will have died out. Furthermore, the Japanese believe that these schools should be supervised by the State Educational Authorities and are initiating a movement to bring this about. Those in charge of Japanese language schools in northern California held an institute in Fresno, California, recently, and adopted a programme which provides for revised or new text-books, and calls upon the State Department of Education to examine and generally supervise the work of these schools.

Concentration by the Japanese in a given community, commonly called colonization, exists in some parts of California and Washington. It is at once partially responsible for and largely the result of anti-Japanism. Like the old question of the chicken and the egg, it is difficult to determine which came first—the colonization or the anti-Japanese agitation. It is only natural that other residents, under existing conditions, should resent the predominance in any community of the Japanese, or of any other alien race for that matter. They patronize business enterprises conducted by individuals of their own race, and practically their whole economic and social intercourse is confined to themselves. Upon the other hand, with race prejudice extant and anti-Japanism rampant, it is also quite natural that a Japanese should desire to settle among his countrymen. To them he looks for aid and interest, and in that way seeks as far as possible

to escape the effect of race prejudice. On the whole, colonization creates a very real and perplexing problem, the solution of which must be honestly and constantly sought after.

As to the possibility of physical assimilation of the Japanese, there is a wide divergence of view. The fact is that thus far nothing very definite or conclusive has been established on either side of this important question. Interracial marriage has been generally decried and, therefore, has not been practiced to an extent that would furnish a decisive test of its results. The most generally accepted theory has been that the two races will not physically blend, but it is as yet no more than a theory and may be totally disproved in the future. Non-physical, or social and intellectual assimilation, is another matter and, so far as present results are concerned, can be said to be entirely possible. In fact its possibility is definitely established through the American-born Japanese who, in every way, give conclusive evidence of having assimilated the ideas, customs and ideals of America.

By far the most serious charge raised by the anti-Japanists is that Japan "has violated the 'Gentlemen's Agreement'." Let us see if she has. Under the terms of this informal understanding, Japan promised to limit passports to America to the following classes:

1. Former residents.
2. Parents, (wives),[1] husbands or children of residents.
3. Settled agriculturists.
4. Non-laborers; including merchants, teachers, professional men, travellers, etc., who, as before, were free to come and go at will.

A little later, Japan, of her own accord and initiative, determined to refuse passports to laborers who sought to go into territory contiguous to continental United States, such as Canada and Mexico.

It can thus be seen that while the Agreement did contemplate careful restriction, it did not seek to stop all immigration, hence was not an exclusion act, such as that passed against the Chinese, and never has been so regarded by those adequately informed upon the matter. The trouble is that the public has not been so informed; and has in fact believed the Agreement to be some sort of an exclusion arrangement disguised in name to save the pride of Japan. The public has been quite willing, therefore, to believe that Japan has violated the "Gentlemen's

[1] Wives were not mentioned, it is claimed, in the original discussion of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," but were included therein by our own officials when they began to interpret the agreement.

Agreement." But the facts all point the other way. In all of the testimony taken by the Immigration Committee there was no competent evidence of violations of the agreement, and we find the acting Secretary of State, Mr. William Phillips, writing to Senator Phelan under date of August 28, 1919, that "the agreement is working with a fair degree of satisfaction", and that "the authorities who have in charge the administration of the immigration laws have not found that the Japanese Government is violating the agreement." This would seem to be a definite and conclusive refutation of the charge that Japan has violated the agreement, and, coming from such an official source, can of course be relied upon.

## JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA [1]

### *The United States Census* 1900, 1910 *and* 1920

The Bureau of the Census issued November 16, 1920 a preliminary announcement of a few figures in regard to the Japanese population in the states of California, Oregon and Washington and in the territory of Hawaii. We give these figures in tabular form and call attention to some of the surprising facts disclosed.

1. The total population of California increased from 1,485,653 in 1900 to 2,377,549 in 1910 and to 3,426,861 in 1920. At those same dates, the Japanese population numbered respectively 10,151, 41,358 and 70,196. Stated in percentages the Japanese population constituted 0.7 per cent, 1.7 per cent and 2 per cent of the total population in 1900, 1910 and 1920 respectively. The point to be noted is the large increase of the general population.

2. In Hawaii, the Japanese population constituted 39.7 per cent of the total population in 1900; 41.5 per cent in 1910, and 42.7 per cent in 1920, the figures being 61,111, 79,675 and 109,269 respectively. In other words, the relative increase of the Japanese population has been very small indeed.

3. The Japanese population in California showed an increase of 307.4 per cent between 1900 and 1910, immigration having been free until 1908; while during the decade between 1910 and 1920

[1] By Sidney N. Gulick, Secretary, National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, New York, N. Y. Annals of the American Academy. 93:55-69. January, 1921.

the increase was 69.7 per cent, consisting chiefly of women and children.

4. The proportion of Japanese males to females in California in 1900 was 94.6; in 1910 it was 84.9 per cent and in 1920 it was 63.2 per cent. In Hawaii the proportion of males to females at the three dates was respectively 77.7 per cent, 68.8 per cent and 57.3 per cent.

| | CALIFORNIA | | OREGON | | WASHINGTON | | HAWAII | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Figures | Per Cent | Figures | Per Cent | Figures | Per Cent | Figures | Per Cent |
| **Census 1920** | | | | | | | | |
| Total Population of State..... | 3,426,861 | 98. | 783,389 | 99.5 | 1,356,621 | 98.7 | 255,912 | 57.3 |
| Japanese Population ..... | 70,196 | 2. | 4,022 | 0.5 | 17,114 | 1.3 | 109,269 | 42.7 |
| Males .... | 44,364 | 63.2 | 2,722 | 67.7 | 11,173 | 65.3 | 62,643 | 57.3 |
| Females ... | 25,832 | 36.8 | 1,300 | 23.3 | 5,941 | 34.7 | 46,626 | 42.7 |
| **Census 1910** | | | | | | | | |
| Total Population | 2,377,549 | 98.3 | 672,765 | 99.5 | 1,141,990 | 98.9 | 191,909 | 58.5 |
| Japanese Population ..... | 41,358 | 1.7 | 3,418 | 0.5 | 12,929 | 1.1 | 79,675 | 41.5 |
| Males .... | 35,116 | 84.9 | 3,124 | 91.4 | 11,241 | 86.9 | 54,874 | 68.8 |
| Females ... | 6,240 | 15.1 | 294 | 8.6 | 1,688 | 13.1 | 24,891 | 31.2 |
| **Census 1900** | | | | | | | | |
| Total Population | 1,485,053 | 99.3 | 413,536 | 99.4 | 518,103 | 98.9 | 154,001 | 60.3 |
| Japanese Population ..... | 10,151 | 0.7 | 2,501 | 0.6 | 5,617 | 1.1 | 61,111 | 39.7 |
| Males .... | 9,598 | 94.6 | 2,405 | 96.2 | 5,432 | 96.7 | 47,508 | 77.7 |
| Females ... | 553 | 5.4 | 96 | 3.8 | 183 | 3.3 | 13,603 | 22.3 |
| Increase of Japanese Population: | | | | | | | | |
| 1910-1920 ..... | 28,840 | 69.7 | 604 | 17.7 | 4,185 | 32.4 | 29,594 | 37.1 |
| 1900-1910 ..... | 31,205 | 307.4 | 917 | 36.7 | 7,312 | 130.2 | 18,564 | 30.4 |

## RACIAL PREJUDICE UN-AMERICAN [1]

The problem presented by the California agitation against the Japanese is not one of righting the wrong done the Japanese but the one of protecting the honor and name of America. Therefore, this discussion is not pro-Japanese but extremely pro-American. Consider the following facts:

[1] By Rev. M. A. Matthews, D.D., LL.D., Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Seattle, Washington. Annals of the American Academy. 93:69-72. January, 1921.

1. Japan has not broken faith or treaty with America since Admiral Perry first established friendly relationship between America and Japan. Can we afford to be the first to break?

2. Japan has not broken the faith of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" established by our revered Theodore Roosevelt. Can we be the first to abrogate it?

3. Her people are here under treaty rights and agreements, and were by us thereby invited to come. Can we afford to be the first to ignore those rights and insult our guests or exploit their labors? They were invited to Hawaii to aid the sugar planters. They were permitted to acquire property in our Pacific Coast states under the laws of said states. They did not force the land from the people. They did not acquire it by condemnation or confiscation, but they went into the market under the laws of our states and purchased the property from willing and anxious citizens and often at a very much inflated value. Are we going to be the first to violate our own laws and rob the foreigner of lawfully acquired property? We were willing for him to toil almost incessantly to furnish our table with rare and fresh vegetables and fruits, but when he began to reap the just and legitimate harvest rewards of his labors we desired to drive him from the land. Are we to be the first to repudiate our boasted doctrine of the right to life, labor and the pursuit of happiness?

If we and our native sons are too lazy to till the soil and feed the people why amputate the hand which is now feeding us?

Perhaps it is a mistake to congregate any group of foreigners in any locality in any state. The east side of New York is perhaps committing the same error. They should be scattered over all the state, and they should be distributed throughout the states of America. If we permit them to congregate, remember it is our fault and not theirs. They should not suffer because of our short-sightedness.

4. The agitation is unreasonable and un-American. It is not based upon facts. There are about 150,000 Orientals in this whole country of ours. That means the entire yellow race population of America. Think of that small number in our vast population of over 100,000,000. The agitation, therefore, is without foundation. There are about 80,000 Japanese in California, which has a population of about 3,000,000. There are only 17,000 Japanese in Washington, which has a population of over

1,500,000. Why, then, this unjust agitation? Who could see danger except the person who manufactures it for a premeditated reason?

Japanese immigration is fixed by treaty and can not be handled any other way and be true to America's honor. Japan has not violated her treaty with us and sent her people here unlawfully. Her picture brides came by treaty authority, but when we objected she gladly refused to issue passports to them. Her adopted sons came by treaty authority. If you had a son adopted by law and given you by law you would be lawfully bound to give him every right that a son by birth inherits. Therefore, the treaty says that a legitimately adopted son of a rightfully admitted Japanese merchant has a right to enter. That is true American justice. Would you be the first to belie the true fatherheart of America?

Racial and national prejudice and suspicion are un-American. Japan is not seeking anything unlawful nor unfriendly. All statements to the contrary are without a single fact to sustain them. How could Japan overrun this country when her people are admitted under treaty conditions fixed by us? We make the treaty conditions. Japan is not making our treaty nor does she fix our terms. It is all in our hands. Why manufacture false alarms just to justify our unholy, un-Christian and un-American prejudice? Such conduct is damnable.

They say no people should be admitted who can not be assimilated. You have other peoples here living in peace and harmony who can not and never will be assimilated. Why raise a false issue about the Orientals? They are not asking to be assimilated. Some say they can not become citizens. Why do they not raise that hypocritical scare about others? The Tammany ring of any state is willing to naturalize any group of foreigners it can use for its own nefarious purposes. If it can not naturalize and use them then it makes political capital out of opposition and unjust agitation. The Japanese are just as capable of becoming citizens by that method as the thousands now being sworn into citizenship by the judges of our courts.

Speaking philosophically and truly, no one can become an American citizen until he divests his mind and heart of all ideas of and allegiance to the government under which he was reared. He must know, believe and become in spirit the American Government, her institutions and constitution before he can be truly an American citizen. You have never required that test, and

there are millions in this country who have been given the rights of citizenship, who would if that test were applied, be disfranchised at once. Then why be dishonest and apply it only to the Japanese? If a Japanese were to stay here long enough to divest his heart and mind of the genius and philosophy of the government under which he was reared and become imbued with the spirit and life of the American Government he would make a par-excellent citizen. Why let un-American prejudice cause you to deny fundamental facts and laws? America must be impartial and just if she is to be truly American.

5. America's relationship to any foreign nation is a federal question and not a state right. The states surrendered all such rights to the federal government. No state has the right to embroil this nation with any other nation just to satisfy the prejudices of her agitators.

This nation will maintain her friendly, commercial, economic, diplomatic and treaty relations with other nations regardless of the prejudices of all class or misguided groups in any and every state.

It is un-American and unconstitutional to allow states to attempt to destroy such relationships. America is not an isolated camp. She is a world power and will take her place in the world regardless of all the malicious forces working to the contrary. Pro-German, pro-Russian, pro-Soviet, pro-Irish and anti-English and anti-Japanese influences shall not break our treaties, destroy our friendships nor bankrupt our international commerce.

They shall not make us an object of international ridicule. America has never broken a treaty, proved unjust nor been false to any nation, and she will not now begin such infamous tactics. Japan need not fear; America will never do an unjust, un-Christian nor an un-American thing.

We know, as an able statesman has said, that:

> The Japanese have a sincere and intense desire for the abiding friendship of our country, and no American can be long in Japan without warmly reciprocating that desire. There is every reason why the two nations should be on the closest and friendliest footing. Even the perplexing immigration question is susceptible of amicable settlement if only we Americans show a little tact and a respect for Japanese susceptibilities. The Japanese are one of the most ancient and proudest people on the earth. Their manners to foreign visitors are a revelation of grace and courtesy. They expect in return a little of that same deportment. It isn't so much what we do on the immigration question, as the way we do it. Certainly to one who has gained an intimate glimpse of the Japanese, it would seem certain that, with any ingenuity at all, we ought to be able to devise a formula that would meet the views of California and at the same time measurably satisfy the Japanese.

# IS THE JAPANESE MENACE IN AMERICA A REALITY?[1]

The high birth-rate among the Japanese in California has furnished one of the main arguments of the anti-Japanese agitators. Mr. V. S. McClatchy, for example, has by foolishly conceived figures sought to show that a continuance of the present birth-rate will mean that in the near future the Japanese in California will outnumber the whites. Such arguments, being almost wholly imaginative, have no practical relation with actuality, and are designed only to appeal to the more ignorant masses by arousing fear and excitement. Necessarily, they are valueless to the scientific investigator. Even the report of the State Board of Control which shows the Japanese birth-rate to be 46.44 and that of the whites to be 16.59, respectively, per thousand population, has furnished no scientific basis for comparison. Such elementary facts as sex distribution, marital conditions, age group and age composition, intellectual status and social environment, have not been supplied; nor has there been made any comparison between the birth-rate of the Japanese and that of other immigrant races, or that obtaining among the whites of the same age group, intellectual status and financial condition. It is obvious that before any authoritative comparison can be made the foregoing data should be assembled and carefully examined; and in this connection, the State Board of Control virtually disclaims its own comparison in the following pertinent statement:

> If it were possible to select, for more accurate comparison, those white married women who were on a social, economic and intellectual status similar to that of the Japanese, the disparity in birth-rate would undoubtedly be less marked.

But granting for the sake of argument that in the past the Japanese birth-rate has been high, there is still nothing unnatural or abnormal about it, for history of all immigration shows that the birth-rate and death-rate of every new immigrant group have at first been high, but that as prosperity and higher standards of living have come to prevail, as the immigrant group has adapted itself to the new environment and different conditions of life, the birth-rate has steadily declined. Also, nearly all immigrants

[1] By Kiichi Kanzaki, General Secretary, Japanese Association of America, San Francisco. Annals of the American Academy. 93:88-97. January, 1921.

come from large families and hence their first generation is biologically prolific. Furthermore, the Japanese immigration, like that of all other nationalities, was at first almost wholly of men who, having pioneered in the new land and set up homes there, have sent for, and been joined by, their wives. In this connection, the statistics show that by the end of 1919 there were approximately 10,000 more Japanese women in California than there were in 1910. In other words there are now about 15,211 Japanese wives here, most of whom came here at the age of the greatest fecundity. Under these circumstances, a comparatively high birth-rate was natural and could have been avoided only by unnatural methods of birth control. And there must be considered, also, the influence of the new environment, the different physical, social and economic conditions, all of which have made for an easier life and have, therefore, tended to increase the birth-rate. Even so, it is by no means as abnormal as has been claimed, and the mendacity of the frequently repeated assertion that Japanese women in California have given birth to a child each year, on the average, is established by the tables appearing in the report of the State Board of Control.

Moreover, a high birth-rate is not a racial trait of the Japanese, and as those in this country emerge from their present status, as they are doing very rapidly, their birth-rate will undoubtedly recede to the normal. At any rate, we can not with reason or propriety judge the future by the past; and with the productivity of the Japanese women decreasing with their increasing age, and with new arrivals practically stopped through the cessation of "picture-bride" immigration, it is not too much to say that in the very near future there will be a marked decline in the Japanese birth-rate.

### *Agricultural Activities of the Japanese*

The agricultural activities of the Japanese have been widely commented upon and made the basis of an effort to prove that farm land in California is rapidly passing into Japanese ownership or control. The actual facts in this regard are particularly illuminating, serving as they do to refute another of the favorite accusations of the anti-Japanese agitators. The total land area of California amounts to 98,000,000 acres, of which 28,000,000 is farm land. Of this, the Japanese own or are buying on contract, individually and through American-Japanese cor-

porations, 74,769 acres, and lease, or operate under crop contracts, 383,287 acres. Thus it appears that the total farm land *occupied* by the Japanese is no more than 1.6 per cent of the total, and that the amount *owned* by them and, hence, *controlled,* is less than one-third of one per cent of the vast farm land area of the state, relatively nothing more than a mere handful. As to the character of the farm land owned by the Japanese, without going into detail, suffice it to say that it is rich and productive—as has been charged—but that it has been made so by the incessant toil of the Japanese who, in most instances, took land either abandoned or regarded as practically useless by others, and made it highly productive.

### *Physical Assimilation*

The whole question of assimilation naturally divides into two phases, namely, physical and cultural. The physical assimilation of any race is difficult to measure or to definitely determine, but the fallacy of such an assertion as that "the Creator made the two races different, and different they will remain," has been convincingly demonstrated even by the Immigration Commission. It is now fully recognized that the social, economic and political conditions of America have gradually changed the habits, living customs and modes of thought of the European immigrants who thus become Americans. Even physical changes affecting height, weight, the cephalic index, color of hair, etc., have been definitely established. These changes now are taking place also among the Japanese immigrants. Their hair, formerly jet black, is toning toward the brown and their skin is losing its darker pigment, while in stature and weight there has been a marked proportional gain; and although there has been no such careful study as would permit of announcing a final conclusion, certainly it can be positively stated that such racial differences as exist between the Japanese and the whites, even if they do tend to discourage a rapid amalgamation, by no means prevent even physical assimilation, and that in this connection the Japanese immigrants are in no different position from all other immigrants.

### *Cultural Assimilation*

As to the cultural assimilation of the Japanese in America the results are more thoroughly apparent. For instance, take the American-born Japanese children. They speak English almost

entirely, and in their customs, spirit and mode of thought are far more American than Japanese. They have little desire even to visit Japan, for America is indeed "home" to them, and their love for America and adherence to its ideals is established by the eagerness with which they have joined and are joining the Boy Scouts of America and kindred organizations.

During the Great War the American-born Japanese young men of the requisite age admirably demonstrated that through them runs a devout love for the stars and stripes and America. Highly encouraging results are found also among the adult Japanese residents, who, by their ideas—social, economic, political and cultural—have demonstrated their complete conversion to the American ideal. No better proof of this can be found than the almost unvarying tendency of those who go to Japan to soon become dissatisfied there and return to America, and of the firm determination of almost all of the parents to educate their children in America as Americans, useful for America's future. Again, their mode of living, their ideas, in fact their entire philosophy, are being Americanized so profoundly that they find no difficulty in performing their new civic duties and conforming to the American legal system. Their devotion to America is further evidenced by the willingness, yes the eagerness, with which they bought their full quota of liberty bonds, war savings stamps, etc., and made their generous contributions to the Red Cross and other war charities. The Japanese are also rapidly conforming to the spiritual ideals of America for, except in rare instances, the observance of Sunday is part of their life, and their homes and home customs are rapidly improving.

The foregoing short survey furnishes generous proof of cultural assimilability, and that the Japanese are racially as assimilable as any other people is abundantly evidenced by the rapidity with which Japan has adopted and adapted herself to modern Western civilization. Asserting that the Japanese are assimilable, that, indeed, they have proved it, we must explain why the process of assimilation has been so slow. With no desire to deny fault on our own part, it nevertheless must be stated that the main reason for the slowness of the process is to be found in the barriers that prejudice and intolerance have set up against the Japanese. Social discrimination, such as excluding Japanese from certain residential districts; legal discrimination, such as the various land laws and the denial of the privilege of

citizenship; the inhibition of intermarriage,—all these are barriers that certainly most seriously retard the process of assimilation, and unless they are dissipated and the doctrine of exact equality is established, the whole question of assimilation will be difficult of permanent solution. That the Japanese are not really an undesirable people, that they are in truth worthy to be assimilated finds indisputable proof in the very statements of the anti-Japanese agitators who preface their adverse arguments by admitting freely that the Japanese are sober, orderly, peaceful, industrious and enterprising, and in no way inferior to the Caucasian race. Are these not desirable qualities? Are they not those things which are commonly called virtues? And, admittedly possessing these characteristics, are not the Japanese wholly worthy of being assimilated? Then why not take a positive step in this direction? Why not make them a desirable integral part of American life and transform them into a valuable asset instead of permitting mistreatment and discrimination to make of them a liability to themselves and to the whole American people? Let rationalism rather than foolish sentimentalism rule.

### *Intermarriage*

In considering the important question of intermarriage it is well to emphasize that, though closely related, it is not an absolute condition of assimilation. Beyond doubt there is intimate relationship between them, but that assimilation is entirely possible without intermarriage is fully evidenced by the Japanese students in America. The physical and mental characteristics of the progeny resultant of intermarriage shows the complete biological possibility of it; in fact the results are in no way dissimilar to those occurring from the ordinary inter-racial marriage. On the whole, however, the question of marriage between Americans and Japanese is one largely of the attitude of the people directly concerned, and through social expediency it will gradually solve itself.

### *Working Hours and Wages*

That the Japanese are willing to work longer hours and accept lower wages than the whites is by no means a true statement. Figures gathered in twenty-two counties show that while in some instances the Japanese accept a lower wage, in others they demand a higher one, and that the general average of the

hour and wage scale is practically the same between the Japanese and the whites performing the same kind of work. In this regard there is often a failure to distinguish between Japanese farm hands, and Japanese who own their own farms and who, like many American farmers, work as long hours as they desire.

### *Standard of Living*

The Japanese standard of living, although it may have been low in the past on account of economic conditions, is not generally so to-day. As the Japanese in America have prospered they have steadily raised their standard of living, for their natural tendency is to enjoy life as much as possible, and a low living standard is not a racial trait. In other words, the standard of living is directly connected with the earning power of the Japanese, and as the latter increases, the former rises proportionately, and compares more than favorably at all times with the standard prevailing among other immigrant groups. With the dissipation of prejudices and the removal of restrictive and discriminatory environmental barriers, the Japanese standard of living will rise until it equals that obtaining among average Americans. In any event the question must be measured relatively, not positively, and to deal justly with it, comparisons, if any, should be made with the new immigrant groups and not with the higher developed and more refined peoples.

### *Japanese Language Schools*

The Japanese language schools have occasioned a great deal of misunderstanding and aroused much adverse criticism: misunderstanding has arisen because the public has not known their purpose; and adverse criticism, because the agitators have claimed that such institutions teach only Japanese ideas and customs, and loyalty to the Empire of Japan. The real purpose of these schools, however, is to teach the Japanese language to children who show a marked preference for and adaptability toward English, in order that the connecting tie between the parents (who naturally have difficulty in speaking and understanding English) and the children may not be destroyed. Sever this tie, and the parent must suffer, for it is mainly through the child that he becomes acquainted with and agreeable to the customs and institutions of American life. It is upon this basic idea that the Japanese language schools exist. The fact that many of

them employ American teachers for the smaller children and that they are revising their text-books to conform to American principles furnishes proof that their teaching and precepts are not other than loyal to America, and evidences the fact that these schools, far from being a bar, are of genuine aid to the process of Americanization. The average attitude of the Japanese parent is to bring up his children so that they will make the best American citizens, participating in American life and contributing their distinct share to this cosmopolitan civilization.

*Religious Training*

The religious training of the Japanese is not being neglected, and in this there is a well-recognized tendency toward the Christian religion, Buddhism being rapidly on the wane among the second generation, particularly. There are only twenty-five Buddhist Temples in all of continental America, while on the Pacific Coast, exclusive of Canada, there are sixty-one Protestant Japanese churches, besides a number of Catholic churches, and all of them are gaining in membership and strength. Also, few of the Japanese born here accept other than the Christian faith.

*The Japanese Association of America*

An organization that is devoted to raising all of the standards of the Japanese in this country and of genuinely aiding Americanization is the Japanese Association of America with headquarters at San Francisco, which has been in existence since 1900. It has a membership of 16,000 Japanese, all of whom recognize and approve the principles and purposes of the organization. It has taken the lead in all movements designed to promote a better understanding between the Americans and the Japanese here, and to inculcate in the hearts and minds of the latter a devotion to and an understanding of the spirit of America.

## CALIFORNIA AND THE JAPANESE[1]

All far-seeing Californians concur that the influx of Oriental laborers should be prevented. But this can be done only by the Federal Government, not by any State action. We as honest

[1] A compilation of arguments advertised in newspapers by the American Committee of Justice in opposition to the (California) Alien Land Law (passed November 2, 1920) December 2, 1920.

Americans stand for justice in dealing with Japanese who came here at our invitation.

There is an initiative law to be voted on November 2, [passed] denying to the Japanese certain human rights involving our honor and our traditions of fair play.

This law proposes not only to drive the Japanese from the agricultural lands of California, but to deny Japanese children born on American soil the right to have their own parents as guardians.

It is a natural right that the parent is the guardian of the child. This bill provides that the child may be removed from the guardianship of the parent to the guardianship of a public administrator. If Japan should propose a law of that kind touching American children within her jurisdiction, our Government would very firmly and properly demand its repeal.

This law, forbidding the Japanese to lease farm lands, sentences them into competition with American labor in the cities.

It prohibits the Japanese from buying even a single share in any American corporation owning real property.

These proposals are a clear violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of our Constitution, which declares that no State shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The people of Arizona adopted by initiative a law discriminatory against various aliens, which the United States Supreme Court voided as unconstitutional, saying in its decision: "Equal protection of the law is applicable to all persons, without regard to any difference of race, color or nationality. Discrimination under the pretense of promoting the health, safety or morals and welfare, denies the very essence of personal freedom and opportunity it was the purpose of the Constitution to secure."

This anti-Japanese initiative discriminates between aliens in the right to lease land, and between minor children of aliens in the ownership of land, and is plainly unconstitutional.

The law will embarrass our Federal Government, in whose hands lies the final solution of the question. The State Department is now endeavoring to revise our agreement with Japan for the purpose of excluding Japanese immigration more effectively.

What California wants is not a policy of legal persecution directed against Japanese who are already here, but a constructive immigration policy calculated to safeguard the States against further influx of Oriental labor. The proposed initiative law offers no such solution. It simply complicates the situation and will make the adjustment of the real issue all the more difficult.

Not only does this law invite us to commit an act of injustice and to violate our Constitution, but it insults an honorable nation—a nation which, when San Francisco was on fire, sent a gift of $250,000 in gold; a nation which has repeatedly manifested respect and friendship for our country.

* * * *

The population of California is 3,426,526, of which only 2 per cent are Japanese. In 1919 more white children were born in the State than the total of Japanese births for the ten years preceding.

California should not be placed in the position of 98 per cent of her population being in fear of 2 per cent.

In the last ten years our population increased 1,058,987. It was a 44.1 per cent increase, while that of the whole United States was only 14 per cent. Does that look like the State is being destroyed by its 2 per cent of Japanese?

Our food supply is not keeping up with the increase of population. The first seven months of this year we did not produce enough to feed our own people; imports of food increased $1,500,000,000.

Why expel the Japanese farmers who raised $67,000,000 worth of food last year?

To persecute them off the land will make the shortage of farm labor more acute, put thousands of acres out of cultivation, reduce our food supply and inflict economic injury to the State.

Japanese labor on land is non-competitive. It gets the highest farm wages paid in the world. This initiative will drive it from non-competitive labor on land to competitive labor in the cities, where it consumes but no longer produces food. This change is equally injurious to city labor and to the consumers of food. This view was taken by the Labor Councils of Stockton and Sacramento in resolutions opposing "the removal of the Oriental from land to the industries."

Japan permits a corporation, though composed entirely of non-Japanese, to own in fee simple all the land it can buy. It also allows alien individuals to lease land of any kind for fifty years, and to acquire superficies for unlimited period. Yet Initiative No. 1 denies this reciprocal right to a handful of Japanese in California.

Foreigners in Japan, by concessions in perpetuity, own, with improvements, land worth many millions on which they do not even pay taxes. Yet Initiative No. 1 seeks to deny the industrious Japanese in California the human right of even leasing land for productive purposes.

Much has been said of the Japanese law which claims the allegiance of Japanese born in America. French law claims a child born abroad of French parents as a French citizen, subject, if a male, to military service the moment he enters French jurisdiction. Switzerland, Italy, Greece and Germany have similar laws.

Japan is more liberal than these countries, for she allows a child born abroad of Japanese parents to relinquish allegiance to Japan at any time before the age of 17.

* * * *

Our Secretary of Commerce reports that in the eight months ending August 31, this year, we sold our goods to Asia and Oceania as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| To Dutch East Indies | $34,995,550 | |
| To China | 96,311,017 | |
| To Australia | 73,054,230 | $331,195,036 |
| To British India | 65,744,078 | |
| To The Philippines | 61,090,161 | |
| To Japan | | $328,663,681 |

Japan bought of us within $2,531,355 as much as all Asia and Oceania combined. Is it wise to alienate that commerce by mistreating the Japanese in California.

* * * *

Within a few years Japanese births will become even less, because [1] immigrants, irrespective of race, have fewer children after the first generation; [2] the average age of Japanese male adults now here is about 40; [3] the abolition of "picture marriages" will make it more difficult for Japanese to marry; [4]

the arrivals of Japanese will decrease as the result of present diplomatic negotiations.

According to the 1920 census, population of our cities in the last decade increased 25.2 per cent, while the population of farm territories increased only 3.2 per cent.

Yet this Alien Land Law seeks to drive the natural farmers from the soil, condemn into idleness 400,000 acres of land now highly productive, and decrease California's annual food production by $67,000,000.

The Japanese is not the kind of an immigrant who comes here intending to "make a stake" and return to his own country. He is here to take his part in the economic life of the State, honorably and industriously, paying taxes, and helping to support our social institutions, our roads, our schools and local governments.

* * * *

The penological statistics of the State show so small a percentage of crime amongst the Japanese as to be a negligible feature.

The eleemosynary records show no Japanese in the almshouses.

The facts of daily observation by those in nearest contact with the Japanese disclose their extreme personal cleanliness, good standard of living in diet and dress, high sexual morality, personal honesty, fidelity to contracts, and high percentage of education, and intelligence.

The record shows them greatly patriotic during the world war, the buyers of millions of our war bonds and contributors of tens of thousands to the Red Cross. Their contributions per capita to these patriotic war purposes were far in excess of those made by any other class of aliens.

The prejudice against them exists amongst people who have had no experience with them, and are readily deceived by the rampant slanders of agitators. In our population of 3,426,861, you will readily understand that all cannot have had contact and experience with our 2 per cent of Japanese. The 222,086 Californians who voted against the anti-Japanese initiative were citizens who knew the Japanese. Those who supported and carried that measure were mostly citizens who knew the Japanese only by hearsay, and that mostly slander and falsehood.

## THE JAPANESE PROBLEM [1]

Most Californians who take any interest in the Japanese question at all—and there are plenty who do not—will tell you that the conflict between the races is primarily economic, and not social. A short time ago I traveled through California from end to end, talking with citizens in all parts of the State about this question, and I found that everywhere the belief prevailed that the Japanese are an overwhelming economic menace. Most of the hostility was based upon this assumption. While it is far from my intention to deny that there is an economic conflict between the races in California, I am convinced that this factor is of less importance than most Californians will admit, and that the antipathy of the white man for the yellow, skillfully engendered by politicians and by part of the press, is a principal element.

It is true that the Japanese in California are growing in numbers and they would certainly continue to grow in influence were it not for the checks which have been put upon them by hostile legislation. Twenty years ago the Japanese population of California was negligible. Ten years ago it was 41,000. Today, according to the estimate of the State Board of Control, there are 87,000, which is more than 80 per cent of the total Japanese population of the United States. (The anti-Japanese propagandists in California claim that the figure is very much larger than this, that the Japanese have systematically evaded registration in the census, and that there are more than 100,000 in California.)

It is worth noting that while the Japanese population has doubled in the past decade, the acreage of agricultural land they control has increased by more than 400 per cent. At the present time the Japanese are operating about 450,000 acres. Even more striking is the great increase in the value of the crops produced by Japanese farmers. In 1909 these had a market value of $6,200,000. In eleven years the value has increased more than one thousand per cent, to $67,100,000.

This great increase in acreage and the market value of crops does not necessarily mean, however, that white settlers have been driven from this amount of land by the Japanese—though one

[1] By Bruce Bliven. Nation. 112:171-2. February 2, 1921.

would get that impression from some of the anti-Japanese documents issued in California. During the last decade in particular, the Japanese have reclaimed a large amount of swamp and arid land which had been declared by American farmers to be unworkable. Moreover, those California crops which are most profitable to the American rancher have the smallest percentage of Japanese participation. This is notably true of citrus fruits, wheat, walnuts, etc. On the other hand, the production of berries, small vegetables, and the like is largely dominated by the Japanese, who raise from 80 to 90 per cent of the annual total. The Japanese also declare in their own defense, when they are accused of crowding the white man out of the agriculture of California, that there is such a movement of white men from the farms to the cities that without Japanese aid agriculture could not be carried on in California at present at all.

## CALIFORNIA AND THE JAPANESE[1]

Many people in the Eastern States are no doubt surprised that California's anti-Japanese Land Initiative Law was adopted at the recent election by so large a majority as 668,483 to 222,086, or about 3 to 1. Here in California everybody is amazed that the majority was so small. On the eve of the election it was a universal belief in California that the Alien Land Law would be adopted by an overwhelming majority. Its proponents had boastfully announced that it would pass by a vote of at least 9 to 1, if not unanimously. The public accepted this prediction with no dissenting voice. The Japanese, in calm resignation, expected nothing better.

How, then, can we account for the failure of the universal prediction that the Alien Land Law would be adopted by a vote of 9 to 1? In the judgment of experienced observers, the main reason lies in the fact that the present anti-Japanese feeling is not a spontaneous but a manufactured one, founded upon neither the pressing need nor the real fear of the people of California. Had the Japanese constituted a real and imminent menace, half the agitation that was directed against them would have been

[1] By Kiyoshi K. Kawakami, author and journalist. Nation. 112:173 4. February 2, 1921.

enough to set a race feeling aflame and secure an undivided vote upon any such proposition as the Alien Land Law.

The fact of the matter is that the growth of the Japanese population or Japanese land holdings is yet far from a stage wherein the bogy of the Japanese menace can be effectively employed to scare the public or to stir up race hatred against the Japanese. The situation may be summed up somewhat like this: Most of the intelligent Californians, who think about the question at all and who constitute the minority, are with the Japanese. Most of the unthinking Californians, who naturally constitute the majority of the voters, are against the Japanese, not for any particular reason, but because they are influenced by agitation.

There is no doubt that the political agitators and self-seeking newspapers have failed in their endeavor to rouse race hatred against the Japanese. For the Japanese has the innate capacity of getting along amicably with Americans. Oriental only in the color of his skin, he is, in his mental attitude and his temperament, essentially occidental. His difference from other races is not so great as to create an insurmountable barrier against him in a Western community. Even in the present regrettable condition in California, engendered by persistent agitation, there is no trouble between Japanese and Americans who come in contact with one another. Japanese employ, and are employed by, Americans. Americans are glad to employ, or to be employed by, Japanese. Caucasian workers work side by side with Japanese with no friction between them. At hotels and cafes and at houses of amusement there is no disposition to discriminate against the Japanese. No Japanese has suffered physical attack, no property owned by Japanese has been damaged. And this in spite of all the efforts of agitators and the press to foment antagonism against the Japanese. But for such vicious efforts the Japanese and Americans can get along harmoniously.

If California is only disposed to apply reason and wisdom to the Japanese question, its solution ought not to be difficult. For Japan is but too anxious to dispose of the question if she can only do so without jeopardizing the dignity and honor in which the Powers have by common consent clothed her. He talks "through his hat" who says that Tokio is scheming to perpetuate the California question, utilizing it as a smoke-screen behind which Japan may advance her interests in the Far East.

## THE JAPANESE ISSUE IN CALIFORNIA [1]

Retrospection will serve to illuminate current history. When the anti-Chinese agitation convulsed California a Congressional committee came here to investigate. In behalf of the municipality of San Francisco, this presentation of the case was made: "The Chinese are inferior to any race God ever made. They have got the perfection of the crimes of 4,000 years. The Chinese have no souls to save, and if they have they are not worth saving." The California Senate in its memorial to Congress said: "Impregnable to all the influences of Anglo-Saxon life they remain the same stolid Asiatics that have floated on the rivers and slaved in the fields of China for thirty centuries of time." The Attorney-General of California testified: "The Chinese are inferior to the Negro and to the Indian."

The expulsion of the Chinese was demanded because of their vices. Following this we violated our treaty with China and expelled them by thousands. This created an economic vacuum that drew in the Japanese. Cultivated land amounting to 568,943 acres lapsed back to nature and ceased production for lack of farm labor. The Japanese came in slowly and abandoned fields were made productive by their labor. They proved to be cleanly, honest, law-abiding and very industrious. Not until after the Japanese-Russian war was there any criticism of them. Then the politicians and the press began an anti-Japanese agitation that has continued in intensity.

In contrast now with great abuse of the Japanese was constant expression of favor for the Chinese. Now why this change? The people by a friendlier contact with the Chinese had abated the earlier false judgment. They have repented the murder and robbery of which Chinese had been the victims, and were in the temper of atonement.

As the Chinese had been condemned for their imputed vices, so the Japanese are condemned for their virtues, for their sobriety, their industry, their intelligence and skill, for their respect for law and for their honesty. Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President emeritus of the State University of California, in a

[1] By Col. John P. Irish, member of the State Development Board, Oakland, California. Annals of the American Academy. 93:74-6. January, 1921.

speech against them said: "Their good taste, persistent industry, their excellent qualities and their virtues render their presence amongst us a pitiful danger."

When the Chinese were under the lash of persecution the *Sacramento Bee* was in the front rank of their enemies. It rejoiced at every crime committed against them. Saul never pursued the Christians with a bloodier purpose. But when the persecution of the Japanese began the *Sacramento Bee* demanded that they be driven out and the Chinese admitted again by repeal of the Exclusion Act.

It is of especial interest that every attack on the Japanese is based upon their desirable qualities, and no claim of their inferiority is made. Rather their enemies profess dread of their superiority.

The anti-Japanese agitators here are endeavoring to spread their propaganda through our eastern states, by taking advantage of the lack of personal knowledge by contact with the Japanese. To this end certain story writers for publications like the *Saturday Evening Post* are pouring poison into eastern public opinion by stories that are so false as to be ridiculous. The moving picture is also called into this disreputable service.

The building up of antagonism to Japan and hatred of the Japanese domiciled here should be viewed with solicitude. Readers of newspapers are on guard against editorial expression of opinion, but they are off guard when they read the news columns. This has led to the vicious and persistent sophistication of the news. It is being used to poison public opinion in regard to Japan. A leading metropolitan newspaper, owned by a United States Senator, has obviously organized a system for this purpose, Every day it publishes news items, pretended to be wired, sometimes from far Bombay, Korea, Mongolia and Manchuria, always attacking Japan. Evidence of design in this evil doing is found in the republication of all these news items in a metropolitan daily in San Francisco, and in other papers which naturally would not do this except by an arrangement.

So proceeds this conspiracy against the peace of nations. All of this bad work is dangerously trifling with the friendship of nations and the peace of the world. We speak of it as "the Japanese problem." Is it not rather an American problem? Does it not involve the education of public opinion in this country to demand the truth from the American press, and to drive

the envenomed agitator against other nations and their people from the public platform? Does not the solution of the problem require that we see our own danger from ourselves? Is it not worth while to ask ourselves how long society can last with its public opinion based upon prejudice and poisoned by persistent falsehood? With this American problem solved there will be no Japanese problem. The truth will have disposed of it.

What influenced the two hundred and twenty-two thousand California voters to vote against the anti-Japanese initiative? The truth was the only influence. It was what they had seen, their experience and contact with the few Japanese who are here. They had seen the Japanese convert barren land like that at Florin and Livingston, into productive and profitable fields, orchards and vineyards, by the persistence and intelligence of their industry. They had seen the hard pan and goose lands in the Sacramento valley, gray and black with our two destructive alkalis, lie, cursed with barrenness like the fig tree of Bethany, and not worth paying taxes on, until Ikuta, the Japanese, decided that those lands would raise rice. After years of persistent toil, enduring heart-breaking losses and disappointments, he conquered that rebellious soil and raised the first commercial crop of rice in California. Due to the work of that great Japanese pioneer this state now has a rice crop worth sixty million dollars a year, and the land that he found worthless now sells for two hundred dollars per acre.

Or these voters had seen the repulsive "hog wallow" lands in the thermal belt of the west slope of the Sierra, avoided by white men, so unproductive and forbidding that they defaced the scenery, reclaimed by the genius and toil of the Japanese Sakamoto, and now transformed into beautiful vineyards and citrus orchards from Seville to Lemon Cove. They had seen that 70 per cent of the total seventy-four thousand acres owned by Japanese, was these lands that disfigured the state until they had been reclaimed by Japanese genius and industry. They had met the Japanese industrially and socially. They knew their personal cleanliness, their scrupulous neatness of dress, their uniform cheerfulness, their politeness and good manners, their kindness and their gratitude for just and considerate treatment, their sobriety and respect for law, and seeing and knowing all this no falsehood, however subtle, could swerve them from obedience to the truth.

## HAWAII'S EXPERIENCE WITH THE JAPANESE[1]

Hawaii is a standing demonstration of America's power to absorb relatively an enormous immigration and yet maintain a dominant Americanism. Because 109,269 of its total population of 255,512 are Japanese it is frequently referred to as Japanese in character and civilization. This is absolutely foreign to the truth.

Having lived for years in Greater Boston, New York, Chicago and San Francisco, I found Hawaii during my fourteen years there as distinctively American as any of these other centers. It behooves our countrymen to have faith in America. Our spirit especially where it exists in purity as it does in Hawaii is irresistible. European and Asiatic alike are charmed with it and get quickly to work to make it their own. After all Americanism at its best is brotherhood and where brotherhood is honestly worked it is the strongest human force on earth.

## CALIFORNIA IRRIDENTA[2]

In 1913, when the alien land law was passed, the Japanese in the State numbered about 50,000 out of a total population of 2,500,000; and owned 32,000, and tilled 281,687, acres out of a total cultivated acreage of nearly 28,000,000. In short, had worst come to worst and the Japanese gained possession of all the land they tilled they would have held slightly more than one per cent. of the cultivated land of the State. Much of this land, moreover, had not been used at all, or had been only partially used, prior to the coming of the Japanese, for the newcomers have perceptibly extended the margin of cultivation. It is no exaggeration to say that the problem of the ownership of this one per cent of the State's cultivated area was of no importance whatever when compared with the problems created by the large tracts of unused lands held for speculative purposes which then existed, and still exist, in California.

The effect of the law has not been to diminish the total area

[1] By Doremus Scudder, member Federal Council of Commissioners on Friendly Relations with Japan. Annals of the American Academy. 93: 110-15. January, 1921.

[2] By Robert L. Duffus. Nation. 108:549-51. April 12, 1919.

worked by Japanese; on the contrary, according to the estimates of the Japanese Agricultural Association, this area has increased to 339,800 acres in 1917 and to 391,683 acres in 1918. The total value of the crops raised by Japanese reached $42,000,000, according to the same authority, in 1917, and amounted to more than $53,000,000 in 1918.

The Japanese now raise, according to the Agricultural Association, 90 per cent of the celery crop of the State, 89 per cent of the berry crop, 83 per cent of the asparagus, 82 per cent of the cantaloupes, 81 per cent of the onions, 80 per cent of the tomatoes, 71 per cent of the florists' products, 51 per cent of the seed crop, 42 per cent of the sugar beets, 40 per cent of the mixed vegetables, and from 12 to 30 per cent of the fruits, cotton, beans, potatoes, rice, and grapes. As much of the work involved is of the intensive sort ordinarily avoided by white laborers and farmers, and as much of the land has been reclaimed from desert or swamp, the economic contribution is considerable.

As the Japanese have made their way as tenants and lessees the padrone, or gang, system has been largely done away with. It still survives in a comparatively few instances in the vineyards around Fresno, in the sugar-beet ranches of the Salinas valley, and possibly elsewhere. In most cases the former Japanese laborers have forsaken wage labor for a system under which their rewards depend, or seem to depend, more largely on their own skill and perseverance. Small farms, operated mainly or wholly by the lessees, have multiplied. But as these farms could not be owned, or leased for more than three years, the tenants have been at the mercy of the owner. Strawberry plants have a life of four or five years; if the lessee cannot be sure of a tenancy of more than three years he assumes a heavy risk. Tomatoes, cantaloupes, and rice cannot be profitably cultivated on the same land for more than three years at a stretch. Some system of crop rotation, therefore, becomes necessary, but under the leasing system the tenant has no inducement to undertake it. Nor does the leasing system give the tenant any opportunity to secure a settled home for his family. All the evils of white tenant farming are reproduced in Japanese tenant farming. The exhaustion of the soil is the least of its disadvantages.

If the Japanese were compelled to deal only with individual American owners of land their lot might be mitigated by the occasional benevolence or foresight of individuals. But there

are already signs of the rise of a combination which will exploit their helpless condition to the utmost. The fruit and vegetable canners of California have recently organized for mutual benefit, and one of the products of their organization is an increasing control of land leased to Japanese. Nor is this all The canners' association is also beginning to furnish capital, in the form of seeds, stock, and tools, to prospective farmers, and to buy their product. The result is that it is within the association's power to reduce the tenant farmers to a state resembling peonage. Many of the Japanese, ignorant of American ways and language, are obliged to take the statements and transactions of middlemen on trust—a situation which, to say the least, puts a heavy strain on the integrity of the latter.

The alien land law was passed because it was thought that the Japanese were cutting down the American standard of living. Its effect, and its only effect, has been to hinder the Japanese in rising to a scale of living and income in which they will be no longer a menace to American standards. Instead of eliminating competition, the law has tended to intensify it. If the wages of Japanese have advanced (they are at present between $3.75 and $4 a day), if the standards of comfort and cleanliness among them have rapidly improved, if they have shown a disposition to organize and a desire to coöperate with white farmers and workingmen in bettering conditions, it is not the result of American foresight.

# NEGATIVE DISCUSSION

## THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA[1]

Of course, you gentlemen are familiar with the condition at the present time. The immigration law gives us a certain degree of protection. The Chinese exclusion law gives us absolute protection from the Chinese, and the "Gentlemen's Agreement" is supposed to give us protection from the Japanese. Very little is said about the "Gentlemen's Agreement" because we have been overawed constantly by the supersentiveness of the Japanese, who are always described as a proud people and who are seeking racial equality. Hence, there has been a certain subservience on the part of the administration, both the present administration and other administrations, in a diplomatic way, to avoid any conflict or any irritation. A very desirable thing to do when your life is not at stake, but you do not put on soft gloves with a man who is making an assault upon you. If you consider that he is endangering your life, you are very apt to treat him not in a diplomatic way, where diplomacy will not serve, but in a forcible way, and hence I have very little sympathy with the manner in which we have approached the subject, but I can understand the reasons for it.

The Japanese came out of their wars in Asia as great fighting men, and they were always considered a menace to the west coast of the United States and the islands of the Pacific; and when we came out of the war as great fighting men the situation changed, and there was less need of that careful diplomacy. If we had a statement to make we were free to make it because we had behind us a very powerful army and a very powerful fleet, and there is no use of mincing things. A man who is able to enforce his will is much better entitled to a hearing in the court of nations than a man who is impotent and powerless, or believes himself to be impotent and powerless, as the American people to a great extent believed themselves to be non-combatant

[1]Statement of Hon. James D. Phelan, a Senator from the State of California. In "Percentage plans for restriction of immigration," Hearing before the United States Congress, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, June 20, 1919.

before we demonstrated to the world our extraordinary ability in men and resources to fight battles.

So I think we can now talk on this subject in a perfectly free way, whereas during the last three years and during the pendency of the war, I have felt a certain restraint; and although I saw the danger in the encroachment upon my State, I did not make any loud protest because we were associated with Japan, among the other powers, in making a war against a common enemy.

Japan, by this "Gentlemen's Agreement" as I have explained, has undertaken to keep the undesirable laborers out of this country. Well, they are coming into this country. There is a very great increase in the number of Japanese coming into continental United States, and I think it will be so determined by the next census. They come over the border. They have arrested as many as 40 in one day without passports coming over the border and deported them. I was down on the border at Mexicali and at Andrade in the last four weeks and had the personal testimony of the immigration officials and of the customs officials at those points. However, it is a matter of public record that they are arresting Japanese coming over the border all the time. There is a great Japanese fishing fleet which comes daily into San Diego and to Los Angeles Harbors. They have concessions on the Mexican coast, and these are seagoing boats, and probably go out 50 miles under motor, and they are suspected of having brought in Japanese. I accused the Japanese consul in Los Angeles with having connived at this infraction of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" the admission of Japanese into continental United States through Mexico without passports, and he denied it; but I was able to verify it through the official records of the department.

It seems that during the war ships from Japan carrying large numbers of Japanese would lay to off Los Angeles Harbor on the way to Mexico or South America. The regulations were very strict and the customs officials would not permit anybody to board those steamers, but the Japanese consul came to the customs officials and said, "I have six or seven men I want to go on board, and I will vouch that they will not in any way trespass upon the laws of the United States, and that it is merely to give a welcome or to meet relatives on board and greet them on the part of these Japanese." So he certified to the good faith of the Japanese who went on board, and then the collector discovered

that they were given maps and information and money to facilitate their entrance into the United States by way of Mexico, where they were landed. So that work is going on all the time, and our border is inadequately protected because the immigration officials tell me they have not sufficient appropriation to police that extensive border, both north and south of us. Of course they have not. It is a very extensive border, and I should think it would be a very easy matter to get over the border unless it were thoroughly guarded. They come down from British Columbia into the United States. I have not examined that part of it because my concern was all with California. So they are spread all over California and ultimately all over the United States.

There is another way that the Japanese "Gentlemen's Agreement" is being evaded, and that is by the shipment of "picture brides" into this country. Under the agreement the wife of a man may come in. So it is necessary, therefore, in order to get the woman in, to make a wife of her, and they exchange photographs, and although the contracting parties have never seen each other, on the other side of the greatest ocean in the world, each of them, still the woman comes in and claims to be a wife and because Japan certifies that she is a wife, the immigration officials have to admit her.

What is the object of this? It is twofold, as I see it. The woman coming in and taking up the duties of wifehood becomes a mother in due course, and a child born upon the soil is entitled to own land; and as a matter of fact the Japanese are now in the names of their minor children taking agricultural land for which they are by the law denied the privilege of ownership—a clear evasion of the law—and then the Japanese himself, in contempt of our law, enters upon the land and becomes a competitor with the white people. These women are not only wives but they are laborers. I have photographs in my office, and I have seen with my own eyes these women side by side with the men doing exactly the same work over a period of the same hours up to the very period, almost, of bearing a child, and when the child is born, they go back to work with the children strapped like papooses upon their backs, and they are laborers just as much as the men are laborers. So they accomplish the dual purpose of defeating the law by getting in actual laborers and in defeating the land law by getting in by the birth route persons eligible to hold land.

Why is Japan so much interested in sending its people to California? Here is a profession in this "Gentlemen's Agreement" that they desire to keep their people at home. There is no such desire. It is just as helpful to Japan to have California peopled under our flag by her nationals as it would be for Japan to hold California as a tributary colony, because all the money these people make—and they have made vast sums of money, especially during the war period, and they are making money all the time—goes to Japan. They control many of our crops. That money does not circulate among the various trades and industries percolating back to its original source and like the circulating fluid in the human body giving nourishment and health wherever it goes, but it goes from the Japanese producer who takes it out of the soil to the Japanese middleman, to the Japanese storekeeper, to the Japanese banker, and thence back to Japan. You can trace it from one stage to another; and hence all that wonderful production we hear of in California is not distributed among the people of California. It is largely confined to the Japanese.

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Senator PHELAN. Yes. So the question is very serious economically to any State wherever they may see fit to find lodgment. Where the States have cold, winter weather, and inhospitable climates, they do not go; but California is ideal in the fertility of the soil and in the character of the climate for the Japanese, and hence it is an exposed territory and the whole question for public action here in Congress centers upon California, and it is there that you must go to seek your information, because there is where Japan is trying the experiment and trying the indulgence of the United States, and if the protest does not come from there you will find the other Pacific States peopled very soon by as large a number proportionately. There are a great many there now, already, and finally they work back through the southern and eastern States wherever they can find lodgment. I was surprised to see that in the State of Colorado, which is a very fine State, too, I know people go there for their health, consumptives, tubercular patients, and while I do not know it very well myself, it must have a fine and equable climate, and there the Japanese have made a stand and a bill was introduced in the legislature denying them the ownership of land at the last session of the legislature, and I have the testimony here which I could exhibit to you of the Japanese newspapers re-

porting the great alarm that was sent out by the Japanese associations, that they were sleeping at their posts, that they had allowed the legislature to introduce this hostile legislation and to get busy. It passed the House, and they got busy, and the Japanese association stopped it in the Senate of Colorado, and they will always do it unless there is somebody to take up a positive, aggressive opposition against them.

So the Colorado Legislature through its Senate rejected a bill which certainly should have been passed if they knew the menace of the Japanese. There is no reason why land legislation should not be passed because Japan, as you know, forbids ownership of her soil by foreigners, and she has denied the admission of Chinese into Japan now, adopting our policy, if you please, with respect to protection of our own people. She does not want the Japanese, who is getting a dollar a day, there in industrial enterprises to enter into competition with the Chinese, who will accept 15 cents or 20 cents a day. So the other day they shipped back to China 200 Chinese who were smuggled into their country. So Japan can not, with clean hands, make any protest whatever against any law you pass that looks to the exclusion of Japanese on economic grounds. They have established the principle themselves.

I have here the number of these "picture brides" that are coming into the United States. I will give you the aggregate: From 1015 to 1919, the United States, mainland, 13,913; in Hawaii, 6,864; total for the United States, 20,877.

Mr. RAKER. That means, Senator, does it not, that within a year after their arrival there is a native Japanese born who can obtain title to real estate, and they are immediately conveying real estate to those infant children almost as fast as they are born?

Senator PHELAN. Oh, yes; and there is no way of identifying these children. I believe they are very particular now in bringing them to the county clerks and other officials to have their birth registered. Of course, if a child dies—and there is a tremendous infant mortality among them and among all children—they could easily substitute another child. Their object is to get Japanese born upon the soil, and our officials tell us there is no way of getting a close record and no way of following the child through his young life and to identify him later as the same child that was registered. The Japanese have a much more nearly perfect

registration than our own, but that is not available to us. In the Hawaiian Islands, when I was down there two years ago, the public officials threw up their hands and said, "We have no means of ascertaining the number of births here," but the Japanese consul has, and that is another point—they owe allegiance to the Japanese consul. The consul is their man and not the county clerk or the mayor of the city or the governor of the State, or the President of the Union. Their allegiance is to the Mikado, and that vast number of Japanese on the western coast now would rise as a man in case of conflict between the United States and Japan in support of the demands of their country, wherever they may be. They are so wedded to it and dislike the United States. There is unquestionable evidence that they have a racial loathing for the people of the United States, and it is not only an economic question, therefore, but it is a military question. In case of a conflict with Japan we would have to meet, not only a frontal attack but a rear attack, and hence the necessity of keeping ourselves prepared where we have such a large body of aliens notoriously hostile and who are still controlled by their national officers in the United States. Their consuls are the people to whom they look. They are not assimilated and they can not be assimilated, certainly not physically, and it would be after a great many generations, and perhaps hundreds of years, before they could be assimilated civilly, so that they could take up our burdens and live side by side with us on terms of social equality.

The Japanese are a very prolific race. Dr. Pomeroy, health officer, Los Angeles, Calif., reported last month that one-third of the births outside incorporated cities of his county were Japanese, as follows: White, 48 per cent; Japanese, 33.4 per cent; Mexican, 18.2 per cent; Chinese, 1 per cent; Negro, 3 per cent. I have here also the report of the bureau of vital statistics of the State Board of Health of the State of California, and I will read it to you. This is a table of births classified by sex and race and naming each county in the State:

Births, 52,230 babies in 1917, including 27,888 boys and 25,342 girls, while of the 50,638 in 1916 the males were 26,000 and the females 24,000. This is what will interest you. The race distribution of births in 1917 was: White, 37,313; Japanese, 4,108; Chinese, 419; Negro, 328; and Indian, 62. The figures for 1916 —this is a comparison—white, 46,272; Japanese, 3,721, etc.

The percentage of white births during the 12 years has decreased thus: In 1906 it was 98.4; then it goes on year by year—the next year, 1907, 1908, etc.—until finally in 1907 it was 90.6. There was a decrease of 8 per cent in the white births during that period. While there was a decrease in the population of white babies, there was a marked increase in Japanese birth registrations, as follows:

From 1906, the same period, until 1917, as follows: 134, 221, 455, 682, 719, 995, 1,467, 2,215, 2,874, 3,342, 3,721, and 4,108. In less than 10 years there was an increase of 3,000 per cent.

There is another more favorite way of evading the statute, and that is by organizing corporations under our lax corporation law, which I also sought to have amended by the last session of the legislature. It provides that aliens, if in the minority of persons and stock, can organize a corporation, and hence they get 45 per cent aliens and 55 per cent citizens. Now, those citizens who serve to make up the corporation are either native Japanese who are friends of the organizer or they are white who lend their names as dummies. Those corporations are being formed very generally. I have the statistics of them from the Secretary of State's office, and it is an alarming situation. Notwithstanding the expressed will of the people seeking to deny these aliens the ownership of the soil, they are losing the soil by these subterfuges and technical evasions, and the only thing to do is to so amend the corporation law that they can not use the forming of a corporation for the purpose of evading the statute, and that would be very easy if the legislative branch would only act.

Then, when they can not buy, they lease. I want you to understand that the Japanese have no disposition to work for wages and their competition is deadly when they work for themselves, because then they work excessive hours—18 or 20 hours a day. They are tireless workers and persevering and clever agriculturists. They know how to get the last penny out of the soil; but in working for wages they are not inclined to do that for the benefit of their employer, and if they work for wages there would not be possibly the same unanimity of sentiment in California, because the labor problem is always a problem. But they buy the land or lease the land, and under our statute they can lease land for three years. That should be repealed. They can lease for a share of the crop, and under those conditions they work inces-

santly, and their competition is such that no white man maintaining American standards can meet it. What is the consequence? The white farmer is asked for his land, and he says, "I will put such a price on it," and they take it. "How much will you lease your land for?" "So much an acre." "I will take it." They pay extraordinary rents.

I am cultivating rice in central California. My neighbor is a Japanese. He has leased from a farmer there 1,000 acres of land, for which he pays, I think, $40 an acre a year cash in advance, and he offered my superintendent $45 an acre for my land adjoining. It was reported to me. He had accumulated a great fortune paying those very unusual rents. He also owns 1,400 acres in fee simple.

I made a tour in the San Joaquin Valley during the recess, and I found that Tom Brown's farm and John Brown's farm and old man Kelly's farm had all been turned over on favorable terms and the Browns and the Kellys had moved out of the community and gone with their children to live in the city, enjoying comparative opulence, because the rents paid by the Japanese are highly desirable for Brown and Kelly; but what becomes of California in a generation or two generations, when the rural population will all be aliens incapable of maintaining American institutions or understanding them and ready to take up arms against American institutions should ever the appeal be made. What would be the value of a State that was peopled by an oriental colony, just as Hawaii is peopled now, where there are probably 110,000 Japanese and probably 12,000 Americans. The flag is there and that is the only thing that is American about it.

I will pledge myself that the State when thoroughly aroused will demand this legislation of its legislature. I have appealed to the governor to call an extra session in connection with the ratification of the woman's suffrage amendment, because I feel that every day is a day lost, and I want to check the cupidity of our own farmers who will lease and who will sell. Three of them came into a lawyer's office in Chico, I am told, the other day, and said, "Give me a lease for three years and give my cousin a lease upon the expiration of that time for three years, and upon the expiration of that give my uncle a lease for three years." So the leasing privilege which they are enjoying is tantamount, almost, to ownership. So, on account of the very large number of Japanese, this has become a State-wide problem of the most

serious importance. Of course, nobody will go into California under those conditions—a State we are very proud of. We look for eastern immigration all the time, and our boards of trade and chambers of commerce advertise, and yet a gentleman told me the other day that down in Louisiana his brother sold a farm for $20,000 and thought of coming out to California until he heard of the Japanese question. Of course, he would not go then. He was not going to bring his family out there and compete with men without education, with no churches to support, and with none of the qualifications or standards of a civilized people to maintain.

I met a man at a place called Keys, I believe, in Madera County. He was there with a beautiful little child, and as I motored through and stopped to get a cigar there was nothing but broad acres about, and I said, "What are you doing here?" "I just came in to chat with the storekeeper, a white man and his wife." "Where do you come from?" "Massachusetts," he said, "Do you know when I came out to California I not only thought it was a fertile country but I thought there was some social and community life. There are Japanese on both sides of me and I am going back." He will not stay there and raise his family amid such environments. So this means the death of California unless it is restrained, and therefore I would not consent to the admission of 1 per cent or one-half per cent or one-fourth per cent under any scheme to molify them. I regard them in their economic destructiveness, their competitive ability as enemies to be rejected, to keep away from as a plague of locusts, not to be compromised with but to be eliminated; and if there is any way of getting rid of those who are on the soil by a slow process and give them back their investment, it ought to be done. We stopped Chinese immigration in 1879, and the Chinese have constantly diminished. If we can stop Japanese immigration absolutely and guard our borders and prevent the importation of alleged wives for breeding purposes, they will naturally in 20 or 30 or 40 or 50 years be eliminated or disappear or go hither and thither, and the white man will have a chance to regather his strength and occupy the soil. This may affect the feelings of Japan, but America comes first.

They are getting into the crafts. I have spoken of them only as agriculturists, but they are a wonderful people. They can build anything from a hairpin to a steam engine or a dread-

naught. And that is a people who have just emerged from barbarism. They are the great factor in the world to be watched. The sore spot of the world is in the Orient, and I think our future war will be on the Pacific. When they leave the farm and invade the crafts, and show their ability, and they are not restrained, what is to become of the white mechanic? Is he going to give up his job? No; he will fight.

So, unless we legislate in time we are going to have insurrections and violence and turbulence, because we are planting the seeds of those things. As you sow ye shall reap.

The Japanese people are enjoying all these facilities, getting equal wages to-day; but at the same time they are contributing nothing to the citizenship of the country. They are a menace to our life. Therefore it is the duty of the men in Congress to rigorously exclude them and provide means for doing it. They have made contracts with Brazil and with Carranza in Mexico, and they have taken over vast tracts of land, and have established great colonies. I helped last month to check the purchase of 800,000 acres of land for $50,000,000. The Japanese Steamship Co. was going to buy from a corporation that much land in Mexico on the border of California, in Imperial Valley, some of the most fertile land in the world. I took the matter up with the State Department, and that department notified the American owners that they could not countenance the sale. They could not stop it, but they looked upon it with disfavor, and the sale was not consummated. But this same Mexican minister who is here now as the confidential agent of Carranza notified the owners of the property that he was going to cancel their concession. Unchecked he will turn it over to the Japanese.

## JAPANESE IN THE MELTING-POT: CAN THEY ASSIMILATE AND MAKE GOOD CITIZENS?[1]

There are three principal elements in the menace threatened by Japanese immigration to this country. They are:

1. The non-assimilability of the Japanese race; the practical impossibility of making out of such material valuable and loyal American citizens.

[1] By V. S. McClatchy, Publisher, Sacramento Bee, Sacramento, Cal. Annals of the American Academy. 93:29-34. January, 1921.

2. Their unusually large birth-rate per thousand population, already shown in California to be three times that of the whites, notwithstanding that the estimated proportion of adult females to males among the Japanese is only 1 to 4, while among the whites it is, say, 1 to 1.

3. The great advantages which they possess in economic competition, partly due to racial characteristics, and partly to standards of living, organization, direction and aid from their government. These advantages make it hopeless for American whites to compete with them.

It should be evident that we can not encourage or permit in our midst the development of an alien element possessing these characteristics without inviting certain disaster to our institutions and to the nation itself. The evidence on each of these points is apparently incontrovertible.

As to non-assimilability, the first element mentioned in the Japanese menace, there are three main reasons why it is useless to attempt the making of good American citizens out of Japanese material, save of course in exceptional individual instances. The Japanese can not, may not and will not provide desirable material for our citizenship.

1. The Japanese *can not* assimilate and make good citizens because of their racial characteristics, heredity and religion.

2. The Japanese *may not* assimilate and make good citizens because their Government claims all Japanese, no matter where born, as its citizens.

3. The Japanese *will not* assimilate and make good citizens. In the mass, with opportunity offered, and even when born here, they have shown no disposition to do so, but, on the contrary, pronounced antagonism.

There can be no effective assimilation of Japanese without intermarriage. It is perhaps not desirable for the good of either race that there should be intermarriage between whites and Japanese. The laws of some states forbid such marriages, but even where such marriages are permitted and encouraged, the Japanese themselves will not take advantage thereof. That is best demonstrated in Hawaii, where there is a great commingling of races; but the Japanese, comprising nearly half of the entire population of the Territory, and steadily increasing in number, maintain in wonderful degree their racial purity. With a population of 112,000 or more the Japanese in Hawaii in five years

have contracted marriages with other races, according to the report made this year by the Survey Commission—at the request of the Commissioner of Education, at Washington, Bulletin No. 16, 1920—as follows: Thirty-two Japanese men and four women were married to Hawaiians, a few Japanese men to Portuguese women, one Japanese man to an American woman and a few Japanese women to Chinese and Koreans.

The Japanese hold that their Mikado is the one living God to whom they owe their very existence, and therefore all obedience. It is not possible to make of an individual in whom that belief is deeply and firmly grounded an American citizen who can be relied upon in a crisis. This worship of the Mikado (Mikadoism, or Shintoism) is a part of the education of each child in Japan, and school children are by government decree forced to worship at the Shinto shrines.

Buddhism, which is tolerated in Japan, has Shintoism grafted onto it. Baron Goto, a prominent Japanese statesman, at a gathering of Foreign Board Mission Secretaries, at New York, in June, 1919, said he was almost persuaded to embrace Christianity; that with slight modifications he could do so.

It is upon such suggestions as this American missionaries hang their hopes that, by placating the Japanese in various ways, and more particularly as to their demands for free immigration and citizenship privileges in the United States, the evangelization of the Japanese, both in Japan and in this country, will be made very much easier through Japanese Government suggestion or influence.

The modification necessary or desirable in Christianity before Baron Goto would embrace it is probably a modification similar to that which has been made in Buddhism; that is to say, the incorporation therein of Mikadoism, or Shintoism, which recognizes the god character of the Mikado, and insures thereby the loyalty of the individual Japanese to the Japanese Empire, through the Mikado.

Professor Kunitake Kume, in *Fifty Years of New Japan,* the English version of which was revised and authorized for publication by Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, "the grand old man of Japan," said: "He (the Mikado) is regarded as a living Kami (God), loved and revered by the nation above all things on earth, and himself loving and protecting the nation, who are deemed sons of Kami Nagara, and are entrusted to his care by the Kami.

This mutual understanding obtains between every individual Japanese and the Emperor."

In the Japan *Advertiser* of May 9, 1919, there appeared a translation of an editorial in the *Niroku Shimbun* of Tokio, from which the following quotation is made:

> The Imperial Family of Japan is as worthy of respect as is God. The Imperial Family of Japan is the parent not only of her sixty millions, but of all mankind on earth. In the eyes of the Imperial Family all races are one and the same. It is above all racial considerations. All human disputes therefore may be settled in accordance with its immaculate justice. The League of Nations, proposed to save mankind from the horrors of war, can only attain its real object by placing the Imperial Family of Japan at its head, for, to attain its object, the League must have a strong punitive force of super-national and super-racial character, and this force can only be found in the Imperial Family of Japan.

From a writer long resident in Japan, and fully conversant with its language, its religion and its people, is quoted the following statement on this matter: "Mikadoism, or Emperor worship, is the sheet anchor of patriotic fervor in Japan—the soul of the body politic. The vast majority of the people have no other religion. It is not a relic of bygone days, but the very heart of present-day Japan."

The plea of Sidney Gulick and a number of his Christian friends that we make citizens of the Japanese and then trust to making good citizens of them by Christianizing them, advocates an experiment dangerous in the extreme, doubtful even as to a superficial change in religion, and certain to end in disaster.

The inherent incapacity of the Japanese for assimilation, their religious belief and ideals, bred in them for generations and taught to them the world over, which foreign birth and foreign residence do not modify, create a permanent and insurmountable barrier between them and that real American citizenship which would be of value, and not a grave menace, to this nation. They can not be transmuted into good American citizens.

### *Japan Opposes Expatriation of Her Citizens*

The second point made by me against the possibility of making American citizens out of Japanese is based upon my statement that Japan does not permit it. We come now to the curious and inconsistent policy of our Government as to dual citizenship, the full viciousness of which is most apparent in the case of the Japanese. We recognize as an American citizen and extend all rights and privileges as such to any one born under the American flag, including, of course, the Japanese. Japan, on the

other hand, rigidly insists that every Japanese, no matter where his parents were born, and no matter what nation may have conferred citizenship on him, with or without his request, is a Japanese citizen, and must perform all the obligations as such.

Every Japanese born here, even if his forbears for generations were born here, but had not been permitted to expatriate, is subject to orders from Japan; is kept track of through the Japanese Consulate and other organizations, and is subject to call for military duty. Authorities on international law agree that, since the United States confers its citizenship on the Japanese born here, unasked and with full knowledge of Japan's claims, we must, in the event of war, recognize those Japanese as the citizens of Japan.

We are thus conferring upon the Japanese born here all the rights and privileges of citizenship, without any of the obligations; and we are certainly breeding in our midst a class of American citizens whose hand, we know in advance, must be against us in possible case of war.

Japan not only claims as her citizens all Japanese born on American soil, but she also takes great care that they grow up really as Japanese citizens, with all the ideals and loyalty of the race, untouched by the notions prevalent in this country, which would weaken that loyalty.

The Japanese children born under the American flag are compelled to attend Japanese schools, usually after the public school hours, where they are taught the language, the ideals and the religion of Japan, with its basis of Mikado worship. Here they are taught by Japanese teachers, usually Buddhist priests, who frequently speak no English, and who almost invariably know nothing of American citizenship. The text-books used are the Mombusho series, issued under the authority of the Department of Education at Tokio. These schools are located wherever there are Japanese communities, and teachers in the American public schools testify that the Japanese children frequently are studying their Japanese lessons in their public school hours.

In Hawaii, this system of Japanese schools and its effect in preventing any chance of inculcating the principles of American citizenship in the Japanese upon whom we confer such citizenship, caused such widespread comment that the Hawaiian Legislature in 1919 attempted to pass a law providing that teachers in foreign language schools must know sufficient English and

enough American history and civics to ground the pupils in the principles of American citizenship. That bill was defeated on the demand and through the influence of the Japanese who said its effect would be to destroy their schools.

Now, the survey commission appointed by the Commissioner of Education of the United States, reports in Bulletin No. 16 of 1920, that these Hawaiian-Japanese schools, if not anti-American, are at least not pro-American, and recommends that all foreign language schools in the Hawaiian Islands should be abolished, except for foreign children who can never become American citizens.

### *Not Disposed to Become Real Americans*

It has been shown already why the Japanese *can not* make good citizens, because of their religion and heredity and non-assimilability; it has been shown also why they *may not* make good citizens, because the laws of Japan, efficiently and rigorously administered in the United States, as well as in Japan, do not permit them; it is equally true that they *will not* make good citizens, and that the evidence of the acts of those who have resided under the American Flag for many years is conclusive on this point.

In Hawaii, where their numbers make them independent, and where they are now in a position to practically control the Territory, the Japanese form a separate, alien community, observing the laws, customs and the ideals of Japan; using the Japanese language, both in their business and in their schools, and bringing up their children to be not American but Japanese citizens, with all that loyalty to the Mikado which is a part of the Japanese religion.

The statement made as to Japanese policy in Hawaii is equally true of the Japanese in California, though, because of differences in conditions, the evidence has not forced itself as yet so strongly on public attention. The Japanese schools are found in every Japanese community in California where there are enough children to support them.

The Japanese, however, are not content to depend upon education of their American-born children in this country in order to make them loyal subjects of the Mikado. In the report of the Japanese Association of America, concerning its California census, as quoted by the State Board of Control, appears the

statement that there are in Japan at this time about 5,000 California-born Japanese. That statement carries little significance to most people. It means, however, that there are at this time 5,000 of the Japanese born in California, that is to say, 20 per cent of California's Japanese minors, upon whom the United States conferred citizenship, who are now back in Japan being thoroughly instructed in the religion and ideals of Japan; so that when they return here they may serve, not as American citizens, but as loyal subjects of the Mikado, to do his will and serve his interests.

The Japanese writer, C. Kondo, Chief Secretary of the Central Japanese Association of Southern California, in a very able article published in *Nichi Bei* of January 8 and 9 of this year, frankly acknowledges that the Japanese of California show no disposition to Americanize themselves, and that to this fact largely is due the antagonism which they have created. He warns them that this antagonism will increase rather than disappear, and suggests that they should move to the southern states, where their characteristics are as yet unknown. He adds, however, that if they pursue the same methods there that they have in California, they will encounter the same bitter experience that they are now undergoing here.

One reason why the Japanese show no disposition to Americanize themselves lies in their belief, passed down through generations, grounded into them in their schools, and a part of their religion (For is not their nation the only one on earth whose ruler is the living God?), that they are superior to any race on earth. Why, then, should they be willing to expatriate themselves and become citizens of an inferior nation?

The cockiness which many have noticed in the Japanese under certain conditions and on certain occasions, their pride and sensitiveness, their intolerance of criticism or opposition, are all due to this inbred and firmly established belief in their superiority. In the issue of June 10, 1920, of *The Northman,* a Swedish publication printed at Portland, Oregon, Miss Frances Hewett, who spent six years in Japan teaching English to Japanese school children in the public schools there, says: "Neither do the tourists learn that these children are taught that they, being children of the Son of Heaven, are superior to all foreigners, and that their natural destiny is to bring all other peoples to subjection."

Under such conditions, it is not only probable but practically

certain that the majority of Japanese who are now endeavoring to secure for themselves the privileges of American citizenship, are doing it not from any desire to help the American nation, or to become an integral part of it, but that they may better serve Japan and the Mikado. A striking evidence of this is found in an article which appeared in the Sacramento *Daily News,* a Japanese newspaper, February 4, 1920. This calls the attention of the Japanese to the dual citizenship situation, and suggests that for the present they cease registering births with the Japanese authorities, and register only with the American authorities. They are advised that they need not fear thereby to lose Japanese citizenship, because at any time they can make good their claim to it by proof of birth, etc. The article closes with the statement that the American citizen can be used for furthering the purposes of Japan in this country. Following is part of the article:

> It is urged then when as American citizens (by birth) the opportunity comes for them to reinforce the Japanese residents in America who have no citizenship rights, they must on behalf of His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, become the loyal protectors of the race.

The following is a portion of a statement made on his return to San Francisco from Japan by Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President Emeritus of the University of California and republished in the *Japan Advertiser* of Tokio on May 22, 1920. Dr. Wheeler had gone to Japan as a member of an unofficial mission headed by Mr. Wallace M. Alexander of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce to discuss with leading Japanese the feasibility of a friendly understanding between the two countries.

> The two civilizations can not mingle, and the leaders in Japan agree that it is not well to attempt to amalgamate them. They can not and will not understand our civilization, and no matter in what part of the world he is, a Japanese always feels himself a subject of the Emperor, with the Imperial Government backing him, much as a feudal retainer had the support of his overlord in exchange for an undivided loyalty.

## CALIFORNIA—WHITE OR YELLOW[1]

These children are born of alien parents ineligible to citizenship and who to the end hold their allegiance to a foreign imperial government. These parents acknowledge not simply this allegiance but they have brought their children up under

[1] By Marshall De Motte, Chairman, State Board of Control, Sacramento, California. Annals of the American Academy. 93:18-23. January, 1921.

the tradition of this foreign fidelity and in the consciousness that according to the laws of Japan the children of a Japanese father are Japanese and at any time subject to the laws of Japan if within her reach. It is a fact that if a young man twenty-five years of age with a Japanese father, but born and educated in the United States, a voter who has exercised his franchise, should be in Japan twenty-four hours, he could be put into the Japanese army in spite of his constitutional citizenship in America. And it is this Mongolian child of the second generaton with a dual citizenship who is held out as a fit mate for an American in marriage.

Let us go into this interesting point of dual citizenship a little further. If a father is by birth a citizen of Japan so are his children and his children's children, endlessly. A Japanese born in this country married to a white woman produces a progeny not only half breed as to race but half breed as to loyalty. Though a citizen of America by our constitution yet the government of Japan, because of the blood of the father, claims a right over his child under their law which reads:

> A child is a Japanese if his or her father is a Japanese at the time of his or her birth.[1]

This is not all. T. Miuaoka, formerly counsellor of the Japanese Embassy in the United States, expresses himself in the following language:

> Under the conscription laws of the empire a boy of seventeen is already a soldier in the Japanese army although his time of service under "colors" does not commence until he is twenty. A male Japanese from the age of seventeen is a part of the army until he completes his fortieth year.

Any pretense on the part of the Japanese that they are not receiving fair play at the hands of America should be viewed in the light of the impossibility of a Japanese born in this country ever becoming a part of the homogeneous citizenry of America.

To counteract the effect of the American schools, the Japanese, whereever sufficiently numerous, conduct supplementary schools in the Japanese language. These are held after regular school hours and taught in the main by Buddhist priests, evidently linking up the Japanese language with their religion which includes the worship of their national ruler. What nation has ever heretofore attempted such a course with her absent people? What nation has ever presumed to request for her people the

[1] Civil Code of Japan, v. 3, art. 66.

freedom of our country while holding a perpetual grasp on her absent citizens and their progeny? Under existing conditions and in the face of the experience of California with the Japanese, we feel it right for us to take our position toward these who are incapable of citizenship by our federal laws; incapable of owning land by our state laws, their children incapable by education of true loyalty to our country and incapable of losing their citizenship in their fatherland by foreign laws from which we can not free them.

The plea that Japan needs space for expansion has nothing to do with us or our attitude toward them. However, it is openly advertised by Japanese themselves that there are over five million acres in Japanese territory available for settlement. It is said they have never been successful at colonization. They have never tried to reclaim, colonize or settle the Island of Formosa, one of their own islands, and there are other parts of Asia available should they need territory nearer home. They seem, however, to have selected the west coast of America as their choice of the whole globe. California has attracted most of their attention but recently Arizona and Texas have raised a protest because the eyes of the Japanese have been turned toward their fair fields. There are Japanese at work at Rocky Ford, Colorado, also, and we are told that fully 85 per cent of the Rocky Ford mellons are raised by Japanese and that Colorado has a school problem due to complaints of white citizens against the presence of Mongolian children in the schoolroom. There has been an apparent try-out of the whole country and a final settlement on the west as the best field from the standpoint of the Japanese Government.

In a recent publication entitled *California and the Oriental*[1] issued by the State Board of Control of California, there is shown the fact that fully two-thirds of the increase in Japanese population in continental United States in the last decade has fallen on California. The birth-rate statistics of California show that in 1910, 96.13 per cent of the children born were white, while in 1919 only 90.86 per cent were white or as to Japanese only, in 1910 2.24 per cent of children born were Japanese, and in 1919 7.82 per cent were Japanese. In 1910, to 1,000 white women in California there were born 99 children. In 1919,

[1] California and the Oriental, by the State Board of Control of California, 230 pages with tables, statistics, graphs and maps, will be sent on request. State Board of Control, Sacramento, California.

to 1,000 Japanese women there were born 288 children, which is about an average showing of the difference in fecundity between whites and Mongolians. There are about three times as many Japanese men as women in California. It must be apparent why we oppose the further bringing of Japanese women to our state.

Of the 3,893,500 acres of land under irrigation in California, the Orientals occupy 623,752 acres, or about one-sixth. The total farm crops of California for 1919 amounted to $507,811,881, but this included grain and other products which the Orientals do not raise. Reducing the total to the groups of crops in which the Orientals are active, we have $187,000,000 as the yield for 1919. Of this the Japanese alone produced $67,145,750 or about one-third. In 1915 the Japanese were third in nationality among the fishermen on the coast of California. In 1919 they stood first and represent as a nation one-third of the men so employed. And remember, this puts the coastwise fishing trade with its knowledge of shore line, harbors and defences in the hands of men who are aliens and who might become enemies.

May we transfer our problem to other parts of the country? What would be the effect if one-sixth of the best farming land in Iowa or Ohio had been taken over inside of twenty years by unassimilable aliens? Suppose one-third of the fruit and garden truck industry of New York, Georgia or Florida, or all of the potatoes raised in Maine, had passed from the hands of citizens into the hands of people who can not become citizens. The fishing fleets of New England were formerly the schools for American seamen. Suppose one-third of these fishermen were suddenly found to be aliens who could not serve our colors in case of need. Suppose the great fishing fleets of England and France had been alien during the war or that ours became alien and a war began. Suppose one-sixth of the editors or teachers were such aliens, or suppose that one-sixth of the preachers were aliens bowing down to another idea of God and teaching a religion linking Deity with a foreign ruler as twin images of adoration. Just suppose.

Much is being said in the discussion of the Japanese question about the brotherhood of man. Brotherhood implies one Father and can not exist between peoples holding entirely different ideas as to the Fatherhood of God and man's responsibility to man. If we were going to Japan they might ask us to live up to their Golden Rule, but they seek to come here where they can not be

assimilated, so we say to them, "You would not want us to come to you to try to make over your country by a flood of whites; therefore, do not come to us, for we will not have our country changed by a flood of yellow, for this is a white man's country." We can not take in a race which can not come here with ties all cut from foreign relationship; whose children are not free to ever become children of America as the children of American white citizens are; a race of people which is yellow ethnologically, who, if married to whites, will have half-breed children regardless of the "plane" they occupy; a race which is not servile in character and can not live side by side with the whites without showing aggression such as we have witnessed in California.

It is utterly unthinkable that America or an American state should be other than white. Kipling did not say "East is East" of the United States, but if the star No. 31 in Old Glory, California's star, becomes yellow, West may become East. California has been loyal at all times to a flag that has honored her with a star of her own, so Californians, to a citizen, will see that the star of her glory shall not grow dim or yellow.

## THE JAPANESE LAND PROBLEM OF CALIFORNIA [1]

The most keenly contested issue of the recent election in California was over the action which should be taken on the initiative amendment prohibiting the selling or leasing of land to Japanese. Compared to this, interest as to who was to be president, or whether America would belong to the League of Nations was vague and remote. To many white farmers the vote on this amendment would determine whether they would continue to live on their farms or have to sell to an Oriental. The vote was therefore large. Public opinion was thoroughly aroused, and the majority of over three to one for the amendment showed clearly the trend of public opinion.

This legislation is a farmers' movement. It was opposed by some land-owners and by many who believe in the complete exclusion of the Japanese but who did not believe that this was

[1] By Elwood Mead, Professor of Rural Institutions, University of California. Annals of the American Academy. 93:51-4. January, 1921.

the way to secure national action. Organized labor was divided on the issue as were business men in cities. The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce opposed the amendment and there were placards in some towns advising laborers and business men to vote "no" since its adoption would, as they naively put it, drive the Japs into town to compete with the townspeople.

There was practically no division of opinion among country people who have to compete with the Japs. They worked and voted for the amendment. The white farm laborer does not like to work with them and still less to work for them. The white tenant farmer knows they have made his lot harder by forcing him to pay higher rent. The farmer living on his own land fears their invasion of his section and their organized campaigns for exclusive control of land and the marketing of products.

For this action, and the feeling that lies back of it, the Japanese are responsible. The California farmer is easy-going and optimistic, not inclined to plan for the future. If during the last ten years the Japanese had gone into the farming districts as individuals and mingled with white farmers as individuals, there would today be no more prejudice against them as a race than there is against Swedes or Italians, which is none at all. The statement that they have not done so, but have sought to establish themselves as racial communities, is not made in the way of criticism but to help explain why Japanese land ownership is objected to.

In Placer County, for example, 15,000 out of 19,000 irrigated acres are leased or owned by Japanese. The fine homes of the former white tenants are empty. They shelter rats and owls. So far as white people are concerned the towns are socially dead. The irrigated part of Placer County is practically a little Japan. The people from Nippon dominate its life. Controlling the land, they can perpetuate the ideas, habits, religion and loyalities of the mother country and do this indefinitely.

If the Italians owned 80 per cent of the tomato crop of the Sacramento District and 79 per cent of the Turlock District, and exercised a similar control over many other important fruit and vegetable products, they would be regarded with the same apprehension as are the Japanese. The good standing of the one and the unpopularity of the other is due quite largely to the fact that the first mingles with Americans and makes himself a

part of the American life of California. The other seeks to create and is creating a racial life of his own.

Last February, I attended a meeting of farmers called to discuss a resolution pledging landowners in that locality to refuse to lease land to Japanese. There was a considerable sprinkling of business men from the nearest town and most of the landowners were present. Japanese settlement in this area, which is a part of a melon-growing district, dated back only three years. In that time Japanese settlement had grown so rapidly that the previous year over 60 per cent of the melon crop had been grown by this race. Over 60 per cent of the melon shipments were handled by a commission firm with whom the Japanese did business. A similar growth for another two seasons would mean that the melon business would be to the white grower only a memory. The white farmers met to consider whether they would abdicate and move out or take steps to end this invasion.

When the meeting opened the discussion was entirely in favor of the Japanese. The first speaker announced he was there to "declare himself." He said he was renting land to the Japanese as a business proposition and he intended to continue to do so; that before the Japs came he was glad to get $15 an acre cash rent, now he was getting $40 an acre, and he owed the increase to the Japs. He further stated that before brown men came into the neighborhood, land was selling for $100 an acre. They had offered him $250 an acre, and he proposed to deal where he could make the most money. The land was his own. Now was his time to make hay and so far as he was concerned the Japanese were the haymakers. It was not his business to sacrifice money to keep California white.

Other landowners made similar declarations and it looked as though Japanese leasers would dominate the discussion. A change came when an elderly farmer rose and said:

I came to this district twenty years ago. I live on the farm that I bought then and where my six children were born. They go to the country school. Three years ago all their playmates were white children. Now all the children in that school except mine and those of one other farmer are Japanese. My white neighbors who have sold or leased their land to Japanese have gone to towns. They don't come in contact with these aliens. They simply take their money. I live among them, but am not one of them. I am living there without neighbors. Last week a Japanese family moved into a house across the road in front of my home. That means more Japanese children in the school. It means that my isolation from people of my own race is more complete and I, too, am here to "declare myself."

My farm is for sale. It is for sale to the first Japanese who will buy it. No white man will buy for none will go into a Japanese neigh-

**borhood. When I sell, my white neighbor will leave and it then becomes a Japanese community. When that happens the trade of that community will go into new channels. I have always traded at the white man's store, put my money in the white man's bank, but the Japanese will do neither. They trade with their own race.**

The farmer was followed by a member of a commission firm that handled the melons of Japanese growers. He stated at the outset that if he was to consider his own financial interests he would remain silent, but he had decided it was his duty to give his views on the Japanese land problem. As his firm handled Japanese melons he obtained for them the money to finance growing and he knew, from being their banker, how in the short space of three years they had extended their control of melon production. He stated that with these people coöperation is an instinct, that the coöperation in that section was a continuation of their clan relation in Japan. These coöperative units usually had about twenty members. When one was in trouble the others helped him out, and it was a definite practice for those who had money to finance others and thus lift them out of the wage-earning into the employing class. He gave a score of instances where this financial help had been extended during the past season. He said that the Japanese had now secured a large enough share of the business to handle the selling of their melons in the future, that it was comparatively easy for them to make financial arrangements with commission houses in the east, and having done this they would be able to carry on as Japanese concerns.

His statement brought a complete change of sentiment in the meeting. Even the most defiant landowner realized that when the farms of that section were all under Japanese control through ownership or lease, they would be able to fix rents and land prices because white people will not go into sections dominated by Japanese. They saw that high rents were a temporary expedient to be paid long enough only to fix the status of the neighborhood as Oriental. Once this was done, there would be no further need for high rents or high prices. *The resolution was signed by every landowner.*

Previous to the movement for legislation, meetings like this were held all over California. It became evident that the voluntary action of isolated communities was not sufficient, that there were too many places where landowners were being tempted by

money profits to ignore ultimate results and were creating a situation fraught with immensurable difficulty in the future.

The report of the Oriental problem by the State Board of Control shows that out of 3,893,500 acres irrigated, the Orientals control 623,753 acres, or about one-sixth and the Japanese alone control 458,056 acres, or about 16 per cent. This control has practically all been secured in the last ten years. The increase in acreage has been 412.9 per cent and the market value of the crops produced by Japanese has increased over tenfold, much of the work being done by hired white labor. With certain products like small fruits, they now have such a monopoly that they are able to dictate prices and control local markets.

San Joaquin County is one of the largest agricultural counties in the state. More than half of the irrigated land is controlled by the Japanese. Sacramento County has the state capital. It ought to be a permanent center of white civilization, but more than half of the irrigated land in that country is farmed and controlled by the Japanese, either as owners or lessees. The growth of their gardens and orchards in Sonoma, Santa Clara, and Solano counties is being watched by white farmers with ever increasing apprehension.

*Japanese Evade and Ignore Laws and Public Opinion*

What makes this growth more ominous is the fact that it has occurred while the "Gentlemen's Agreement" was supposed to exclude laborers. It confers no right to own agricultural land, yet in ten years there has been over 100 per cent increase in numbers and more than half of these newcomers have flocked to the country. Farm purchases could only be made through evasion of the law passed in 1913. The Japanese have evaded it by every device which the best lawyers could invent. Japanese farmers have come to California knowing they were not wanted. They have bought land knowing it was contrary to the spirit of the law and the wishes of the people of California. In this they have shown the same spirit as in Korea and China. Yet, when these evasions became so notorious and the economic struggle so severe that white farmers sought to so amend the law as to end these aggressions, the Japanese used their thirty-nine associations and all of their influence to create sympathy for a sensitive, diffident people who were only seeking to contribute to this nation's wealth.

Nothing could be more misleading. The Japanese are crowding in here because rural California is a paradise compared to the hard conditions of agriculture in their own country. No one can blame them for trying to possess the land and the agriculture of this state, nor ought we to think it strange that the Japanese government should back them up in this endeavor by every device of its adroit, if somewhat devious, diplomacy.

In order to compete with the Japanese, the American farmer, who has to make his way by labor, must sacrifice rest, recreation and the giving of time to civic interests or the development of the higher life of a community. He must change his ideas of what is desirable in life and surrender inherited habits. Only by devoting all of the energy of himself, his wife and children to the hard task of making a living, can he pay the rents and do the other things necessary to withstand the rural competition of the Japanese. The thing which America ought to recognize is that requiring him to do this is not an advance but a backward step in our progress and it will not be made. The American subjected to this competition will go into the cities or to other countries and the Japanese will continue to displace him as he has been displacing him during the last ten years.

These statements are made with no personal dislike for the Japanese, nor have I met with any evidence of a personal hatred toward them. On the contrary, the people of California have a high regard for their achievements, their industry and their surprising cleverness, but this does not blind the people in direct contact with them to what is going on or to the social and political dangers which are being created by this rapid absorption of farming land.

The land problem of California presents a new issue to America. The state seeks to check the immigration of people who come here for their racial and individual advantage, who seek to create little Japans with schools, newspapers, religion and language of the country they left. They bring a civilization many centuries old which they regard as superior to ours. They retain a loyalty to their own country, to its institutions and life, which prevents their becoming Americans or being assimilated into American life. Ownership of land enables them to secure these desired ends and what they have accomplished in the last ten years shows that unless something is done to check this

progress, they will become the agricultural owners of California in a brief time as history runs. It is not a question of which is the superior race or which has the better culture. The objection to the Japanese is that with their coming Anglo-Saxon culture came in direct conflict with a Mongolian one. They can not live side by side and neither will give way to the other without a conflict.

## THE JAPANESE INVASION [1]

What is the present situation in California? Many people who do not understand or who do not want to understand ask why all this agitation over 100,000 Japanese in a total California population of over 3,000,000, or the ownership or control by these people of half a million acres or so in a state that has 99,617,280 acres, and of which area 28,828,951 acres are in farms.

Watch the gopher at work. He starts to bore into a levee, and as he progresses he is joined by more of his kind; then, in due time, the other side of the embankment is reached, and a little stream of water passes through. As the dirt crumbles, a flow increases and unless promptly checked the bore soon becomes a wide gap with the water rushing through and overflowing the land. That is the flood that means loss, and perhaps eventual disaster. That is exactly what is happening in the state of California today through the Japanese policy of peaceful penetration, of conquest by colonization, or, as Yoshi Kuno, Japanese Professor in the University of California, describes it, the "bloodless struggle." As the water flows in a stream, so do the Japanese move in bodies, not scattering widely or as individuals, but settling in strong groups. The result, in time, is the dispossession of the whites in such areas.

I do not compare the Japanese to the gopher to give gratuitous offense, but because to my mind the illustration really portrays the situation here; absorption by seepage, so to speak. I frankly admit the intelligence, the industry and the thrift of the Japanese, the wonderful strides made by Japan since Peary's time and her proud position today as one of the great nations of the world. But these very facts, because of the fundamental dif-

[1] By John S. Chambers, Controller, State of California, Sacramento. Annals of the American Academy. 93:23-38. January, 1921.

ference between the two races, are what make the situation so alarming today The Chinese and the Hindoo may have intelligence, may have industry, but they are not aggressive, they do not seek to dominate, nor are they backed by powerful nations intent upon the domination of the Pacific Ocean, if not of the world.

What has happened in the Hawaiian Islands? Out of a total population of about 266,000, all races, it is estimated that 112,000 are Japanese. Very recently I had the pleasure of meeting the principal of one of the schools of Honolulu, and he told me that of the 40,000 school children in the Islands, 20,000 were Japanese; that all had been registered at the Japanese Consulate and that all were claimed by Japan as citizens of that nation. The Japanese in Hawaii today would hold political control if the Islands had statehood. The only way in which this nation can retain ascendancy is by keeping the Islands under the control of Congress, with an appointed commissioner or some such official in charge.

Surely we want no such situation to develop in the state of California. And yet we are headed directly and obviously in that direction today. According to the official report of the State Board of Control of California the Japanese now own or control in this state 458,056 acres. My personal opinion is that the acreage owned and controlled by them far exceeds this figure. Just as they evade census returns so do they cover up their land holdings. But on the official showing the acreage of land owned by the Japanese has increased 412.9 per cent in the past ten years.

Practically all of the 100,000 Japanese (and, incidentally, I wish to say that Professor Kuno, despite statements by the Japanese at large, admits there are fully this many in California) reside in twenty-nine of the richest counties in the state of California, and most of them in eighteen counties, with 75 per cent of the births registered in seven counties. This is conquest by colonization. They occupy from 50 to 75 per cent of the irrigated area in many of these counties, and have almost a monopoly on the production of small fruits and vegetables; while they have made serious inroads along such lines as furniture, hardware and clothing and almost dominate the fishing industry of the state of California, particularly in the southern waters.

Few as their numbers may appear, it is the manner in which they are located and operate that breathes the danger. It is not

"a weak solution but the concentrated essence" that threatens California.

There are fewer Japanese in California working for white people than there are white people working for Japanese, according to the official report of the State Board of Control. The Japanese are of no service to the small farmer. At first they are willing to work for wages, then for a portion of the crop, then under a lease and finally by hook or crook, if possible, they secure ownership.

We are not unmindful of the situation of Japan as to area and population; in fact, it is our realization of this situation that emphasizes the gravity of the issue. In addition to the imperialistic designs of the militaristic group that controls Japan stands forth the great economic pressure on that country for expansion.

Japan proper has an area of about 140,000 square miles, and a population estimated at 65,000,000; the United States, an area of 3,026,788 square miles and a population of 105,000,000; California, an area of 158,000 square miles and a population of about 3,400,000. The percentages of population as to area tell the story.

Japan must expand, as one of her editors has declared, or smother. This side of the Pacific is far more inviting than the other, to say nothing of the fact that she has already seized every available opening.

Japan now dominates the Orient, and by force. She seeks the eventual domination of the American side through her policy of peaceful penetration, the "bloodless struggle" of conquest by colonization. Her purpose is obvious.

In the face of such a situation there can be but one policy for California and, or should be at least, one for America. Even if it were true that Japan permitted aliens to own and farm land in that country, as is claimed, and it is not true; even if it were true that the Japanese were the pioneers and upbuilders of California, as is claimed, and it is not true, such assertions or arguments are beside the mark. We freely grant Japan the right to enact such laws as she pleases for the government and development of Japan, but we deny that because she may legislate along this line or that line, that America must follow suit. It is a question of sovereignty and of self-determination; not one of duplication or of tit for tat.

## CALIFORNIA AND THE JAPANESE PROBLEM

Right or wrong, our people will not live with those of a physically different race except on the basis of that race's inferiority. Since the Japanese are not inferior, and are in some respects superior, there is friction. Seven years ago California passed an alien land law, forbidding land ownership by "aliens ineligible to citizenship" (which means Japanese) and restricting their right to lease land to three years. Ingenious lawyers found ways of getting around these inhibitions by putting title in the name of native-born minor children and naming their parents as guardians. So there is an initiative law now before the people, limiting guardianship over real-estate to persons eligible to own real property, and abolishing the leasing privilege entirely. The initiative will undoubtedly pass, but it will have little effect. Leases will be changed into contracts ostensibly for personal employment, and other forms of guardianship will be devised. Nothing will have happened except the impressive declaration of the people of California that they do not want the Japanese.

## THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA [2]

There are only two classes that desire the presence of the Japanese: The first is the employer of labor on a large scale. He needs more laborers than are available at the moment and besides he needs them to keep the misguided efforts and arbitrary actions (and some times not misguided ones only) of the labor-unions in check. Numerically this group is small but influential. The other class consists of those with a militant belief in the Universal Brotherhood of Man and therefore necessarily one great race of black and tans. Because the physical effort of Japanese immigration has been felt so far only on the West Coast this latter class is mainly in the East. When it comes down to bedrock facts very few people of any race, white, black, or brown, really believe in the one big race idea, but there is a large class of people who think they do, until brought face to face with the results.

[1] By Chester H. Rowell, Editor, Fresno (Calif.) Republican. New Republic. 24:64. September 15, 1920.

[2] By C. A. Grabill. Mining and Scientific Press. 121:618. October 30, 1918.

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